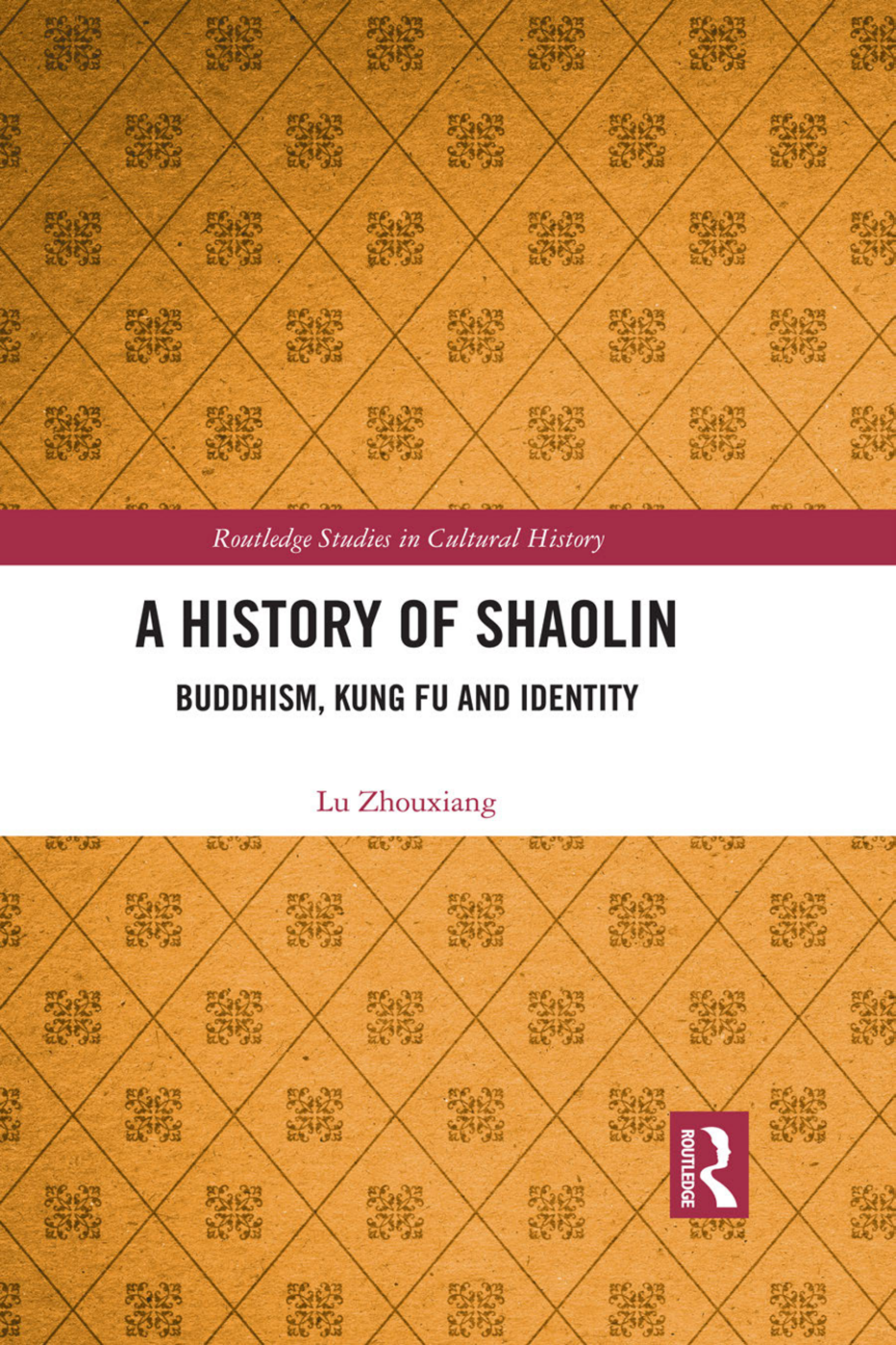
Routledge Studies in Cultural History
A HISTORY OF SHAOLIN
BUDDHISM, KUNG FU AND IDENTITY
Lu Zhouxiang
ROUTLEDGE

A History of Shaolin

Shaolin Monastery at Mount Song is considered the epicentre of the Chan school of Buddhism. It is also well known for its martial arts tradition and has long been regarded as a special cultural heritage site and an important symbol of the Chinese nation. This book is the first scholarly work in English to comprehensively examine the full history of Shaolin Monastery from 496 to 2016. More importantly, it offers a clear grasp of the origins and development of Chan Buddhism through an examination of Shaolin, and highlights the role of Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu in the construction of a national identity among the Chinese people in the past two centuries.

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A History of Shaolin

Buddhism, Kung Fu and Identity

Lu Zhouxiang

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Abbreviations

ACGE	All China National Skills Exam
ACSF	All China Sports Federation
ARA	Administration for Religious Affairs
ARC	Anti-Rightist Campaign
BAC	Buddhist Association of China
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CIPG	China International Publishing Group
CNSA	Central National Skills Academy
CNW	Chinese New Wushu
CWA	Chinese Wushu Association
GLF	Great Leap Forward
KMT	Chinese Nationalist Party
NPC	National People's Congress
NWT	National Wushu Town
PMAA	Pure Martial Athletic Association
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
RTHK	Radio Television Hong Kong
SANA	Shaolin Association of North America
SARA	State Administration of Religious Affairs
SEA	Shaolin Europe Association
SGR	Shaolin Guard Regiment
SWMT	Shaolin Warrior Monks Troupe
UFD	United Front Department

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1 Introduction

Buddhism was brought to China during the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) by monks from India, via the Silk Road.[1] Over the past 2,000 years, Buddhism has been successfully integrated with Confucianism, Daoism and other traditional Chinese religions, and has grown into one of the most popular and influential religions in China.[2] According to the Buddhist Association of China, by 2012 there were approximately 33,000 Buddhist monasteries and temples in China, accommodating more than 240,000 monks and nuns.[3] A 2011 report by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences points out that over 18 percent of the Chinese population claims a Buddhist affiliation.[4]

Today, Buddhism is widely regarded as an important indigenous Chinese tradition.[5] Together with the rise and fall of Chinese dynasties, and influenced by the transformation of Chinese society, various schools of Buddhism developed in China over the course of time, with Chan, Huayan, Pure Land, Tiantai and Vajrayana the most popular forms.[6] The development of Buddhism in China led to the building of renowned statues, monasteries and historical sites, including White Horse Monastery in Luoyang, Donglin Monastery on Mount Lu, Huayan Monastery in Datong, Guoqing Monastery on Mount Tiantai, the Longmen Grottoes in Henan, the Mogao Caves near Dunhuang and Fayuan Monastery in Beijing.

Shaolin Monastery in Dengfeng is considered the epicentre of the Chan school of Buddhism. This ancient monastery is also well known for its martial arts tradition and has long been recognised as a unique Chinese cultural heritage site and an important symbol of the Chinese nation. Shaolin was born during the first golden age of Buddhism in China. It was built around 496 by Emperor Xiaowen (467–499) for the Indian monk Batuo, who had travelled to China to spread Buddhist teachings. Based on the legends of Bodhidharma (?–mid-530s), the first patriarch of the Chinese Chan lineage, and thanks to royal patronage, Shaolin earned great fame as the cradle of Chan and a centre of Buddhist studies.

The perfect combination of Chan Buddhism, martial arts and traditional Chinese culture has made Shaolin unique and noteworthy. Today, Shaolin is widely recognised as a leading religious institution in China

and Shaolin kung fu has become a supporting pillar of Chinese martial arts and a well-recognised brand of Chinese culture.[7] In 1983, Shaolin was named a National Key Buddhist Monastery by the State Council. In 2010, the Monastery was designated a World Cultural Heritage Site by UNESCO. In June 2013, Shaolin was listed by the State Council as a Major Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the National Level.[8] On 17 February 2018, the China International Publishing Group (CIPG) released a report on the 100 most recognised Chinese words in foreign countries—Shaolin tops the list.[9]

Studying Shaolin in the context of the history of Chan Buddhism and Chinese martial arts is of vital importance in understanding the formation of Chinese culture and identity. From the late 1920s, Chinese scholars began to examine the history and theories of Shaolin kung fu, due to its overwhelming popularity. Book chapters, journal articles and monographs were published to this end.[10] Between the 1980s and 2010s, in the context of the revival of Buddhism and the rapid development of Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu, several major historical works on Shaolin were published in China.[11]

In the past two decades, in response to the growing interest in Shaolin kung fu among the general public, an increasing number of books on the topic of Shaolin have also been published in the West, most of which focus on introducing the theory, philosophy and practice of Shaolin kung fu.[12] In 2007, *American Shaolin* by travel writer Matthew Polly, the story of the author's Shaolin kung fu study in China, became a bestseller in the United States.[13]

Meir Shahar's book *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts* was the first scholarly work in English to examine the history of Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu.[14] The book has been widely reviewed in leading academic journals, and very well received by Chinese martial arts enthusiasts and scholars in the West. However, Shahar's work mainly focuses on the evolution of the Shaolin martial arts tradition in dynastic China, notably the development of Shaolin kung fu in the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, and therefore does not offer a full picture of the history of Shaolin.

This book explores the history of Shaolin Monastery from 496 to 2016. More importantly, it offers a clear grasp of the development of Chan Buddhism through an examination of Shaolin, and explains the role of Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu in the construction of a national identity among the Chinese people.

Beginning with a discussion of the early days of Shaolin Monastery, the book investigates the beginning of the martial tradition in Shaolin and how it helped the monastery win favourable treatment from Tang dynasty (618–907) rulers.

The following section, on the Song (960–1279), Jin (1115–1234) and Yuan (1271–1368) dynasties, studies Shaolin's emergence as the nucleus

of the Caodong Chan orthodoxy amidst the rise of Chan as the dominant form of Buddhism in China.

The sections on the Ming and Qing dynasties explain how Shaolin was transformed from a centre of Buddhist studies into a major player in the martial arts community, and how Shaolin turned into a source of ethno-national identity and came to be associated with the nationalist revolution.

The book then discusses the decline of Buddhism and Shaolin in the Republic of China era (1912–1949) and explores the interactions between Shaolin, Shaolin kung fu and the construction of a national consciousness, illustrating how martial arts, wuxia (martial arts hero) novels and movies helped Shaolin become a symbol of indigenous virtue and strength.

Moving on to the People's Republic of China era (1949–present), the obsolescence of Shaolin in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s is examined in the context of radical Socialist reforms. Finally, the book analyses the revival of Shaolin since the reform and opening up of the late 1970s, explaining how Shaolin monks have played their part in the development of Chan Buddhism and Shaolin kung fu in an era of commercialisation, modernisation and globalisation.

Today, stemming from Chan doctrines and infused with political significance, Shaolin has developed into one of the best-known Chinese martial arts schools and is a source of strength and pride for the nation. As an important religious institution with more than 1,500 years of history, Shaolin has created a legacy of remembrance which serves the formation of the Chinese nation's soul and spiritual principles. In the twenty-first century, facilitated by globalisation, Shaolin is now attracting a worldwide audience.

Notes

1. Jingbao Zhou and Ling Qiu, *Sichou zhi lu zongjiao wenhua* (The silk road and religious culture) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chuban she, 1998), 176–177; Litian Fang, *Zhongguo fojiao yu chuantong wenhua* (Chinese Buddhism and traditional culture) (Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2010), 26–27.
2. Fang, *Zhongguo fojiao yu chuantong wenhua*, 2.
3. The Buddhist Association of China, 'Introduction to the Buddhist Association of China', The Buddhist Association of China, 24 July 2017, http://51voiphone.com/bhjs1.html (accessed 19 February 2018).
4. Zhiyuan Wang, 'Jiji wenjian de 2010 nian Zhongguo fojiao daojiao baogao' (2010 report on Buddhism and Daoism in China), in *Zongjiao lanpi shu: Zhongguo zongjiao baogao 2011* (Blue book of religions: Report on religions in China 2011), ed. Ze Jin and Yonghui Qiu (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2011), 19.
5. Xuesong Zhang, '2014 nian fojiao yingxiangli fazhihua guanli baogao' (2014 report on the influence of Buddhism and management and legal development), in *Zongjiao lanpi shu: Zhongguo zongjiao baogao 2015* (Blue book of religions: Report on religions in China 2015), ed. Yonghui Qiu (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2016), 25.

6. Yuan Fo and Xiang Ming, eds., *Dacheng fojiao yu dangdai shehui* (Mahāyāna' Buddhism and contemporary society) (Beijing: Dongfang chuban she, 2003), 55.
7. Kam Hung, Xiaotao Yang, Philipp Wassler, Dan Wang, Pearl Lin and Zhaoping Liu, 'Contesting the Commercialization and Sanctity of Religious Tourism in Shaolin Monastery, China', *International Journal of Tourism Research* 19, no. 2 (2016): 145.
8. Lei Pei, 'Henan Shaolin si, Cao Cao mu guji ruxuan zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei' (Henan's Shaolin monastery and Cao Cao's tomb named as major historical and cultural sites), *Zhengzhou Wanbao*, 6 May 2013.
9. 'Which Chinese words do foreigners recognize the most?' ChinaDaily.com.cn, 18 February 2018, http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201802/18/WS5a88e8eda3106e7dcc13cf91.html (accessed 18 February 2018).
10. Major works include: Zhedong Xu, *Guoji lun lue* (A study of national skills) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1928); Hao Tang, *Shaolin wudang kao* (A study of Shaolin and Wudang) (Nanjing: Zhongyang guoshu guan, 1930); Chengzhou Gu, 'Shaolin si ji qi sengtu zhilue' (The history of Shaolin and Shaolin monks), *Tiyu* 3, no. 1–11 (1935) in *Minguo guoshu qikan wenxian jicheng* (Collection of national skills journals published in the Republic of China era), vols. 16, 87; 117; 145; 173; 236; 300; 354; 406; 425, ed. Yongxin Shi (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2008); Zirong Shen, 'Shaolin di pai lian quan de shi tiao jie yue' (Ten rules of the direct line of descent of the Shaolin School), *Guoshu zhoukan*, no. 150–151 (1936); Hao Tang, *Xingjian zhai sui bi* (Xingjian Pavilion) (Shanghai: Shanghai Zhongguo wushu xiehui, 1937); Hao Tang, *Shaolin quanshu mijue kaozheng* (A study of the key principles of Shaolin kung fu) (Shanghai: Shanghai shi guoshu xiejin hui, 1941).
11. Major works include: Baojun Zhao, *Shaolin si* (Shaolin Monastery) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chuban she, 1982); Changqing Xu, *Shaolin si yu Zhongguo wenhua* (Shaolin Monastery and Chinese culture) (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji Chubanshe, 1993); Yucheng Wen, *Shaolin fang gu* (Explore the history of Shaolin) (Tianjin: Baihua Literature and Art Publishing House, 1999); Hongjun Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si* (Shaolin Monastery at Mount Song) (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chuban she, 2001); Yongxin Shi and Yucheng Wen, eds., *Shaolin wenhua yanjiu lunwen ji* (Shaolin culture studies essay collection) (Beijing: Religious Culture Publisher, 2001); Hongjun Lu and Lei Teng, *Shaolin gongfu* (Shaolin kung fu) (Zhejiang renmin chuban she, 2005); Yucheng Wen, *Shaolin shihua* (Book on history of Shaolin Temple with illustrations) (Beijing: Gold Wall Press, 2009); Derong Ye, *Zongtong yu fatong*: *yi Songshan Shaolin si wei zhongxin* (Rule by lineage and rule by dharma: Shaolin Monastery) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chuban she, 2010); Yongxin Shi, ed., *Shaolin xue lunwen ji* (Shaolin studies essay collection) (Beijing: Religious Culture Publisher, 2015).
12. David Carradine, *Spirit of Shaolin* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 1993); Wong Kiew Kit, *Introduction to Shaolin Kung Fu* (London: Paul H. Crompton Limited, 1999); Andy James, *The Spiritual Legacy of Shaolin Temple: Buddhism, Daoism, and the Energetic Arts* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001); Wong Kiew Kit, *The Art of Shaolin Kung Fu: The Secrets of Kung Fu for Self-Defence, Health and Enlightenment* (London: Vermilion, 2001); Wong Kiew Kit, *Complete Book of Shaolin: Comprehensive Program for Physical, Emotional, Mental and Spiritual Development* (Kedah: Cosmos Internet Sdn Bhd, 2002); Order of Shaolin Ch'an, *History, Philosophy, and Gung Fu of Shaolin Ch'an* (Beaverton: Order of Shaolin Ch'an, 2004); Yan Ming Shi, *The Shaolin Workout: 28 Days to Transforming Your Body, Mind and Spirit with Kung Fu* (Emmaus: Rodale, 2006); Yan Lei Shi, *Instant Health: The Shaolin Qigong Workout for Longevity* (London: Yan Lei Press, 2009); Yan

Lei Shi, *Instant Fitness: The Shaolin Kung Fu Workout* (London: Yan Lei Press, 2015).

13. Matthew Polly, *American Shaolin: Flying Kicks, Buddhist Monks, and the Legend of Iron Crotch: An Odyssey in the New China* (London: Abacus, 2007).
14. Meir Shahar, *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

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2 The Early Days of Shaolin

A path between the green mountains,
Leads to Shaolin Monastery.
Since the Southern Liang and Northern Wei dynasties,
Shaolin has been a special and holy place.
Since the Sui and Tang dynasties,
The monks have been famous for their martial tradition.[1]
Fu Mei (1565–1642)[2]

The collapse of the Western Jin dynasty (265–316) in 316 resulted in the partition of China along the Yangtze River. The north was occupied by various nomadic groups and entered a chaotic period known as the Sixteen Kingdoms.[3] The Jin court evacuated to the south and started the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420). By the end of the fourth century, the partition had been consolidated with the unification of northern China by the Tuoba clan of the Xianbei.[4] China entered the Northern and Southern dynasties era (420–589), during which the north and south existed in a state of confrontation. Over the course of the following two centuries, four successive short-lived dynasties were established in the south, while northern China saw the rise and fall of five dynasties. This period witnessed endless rebellions, wars and unrest and was one of the most chaotic eras in Chinese history.[5]

Against this background, Confucianism, the dominant religion and philosophy during the Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220), declined, as it was no longer seen to bring peace and prosperity to society. Emperors, politicians and the general public turned to Daoism and Buddhism, seeking social stability, spiritual sanctuary and a path to heaven. Consequently, Buddhism started to spread around China and soon gained mainstream acceptance.[6]

After the establishment of the Northern Wei (386–534), the first dynasty in the north, the Buddhist faith was officially supported and promoted by Emperor Xiaowen (467–499) to consolidate the legitimacy of his regime and strengthen the unity of the empire.[7] Funded and supported

by Xiaowen and his successors, a large number of Buddhist temples and monasteries were constructed,[8] jumping from a few thousand in northern China in the early fifth century to 30,000 by the early sixth century, accommodating over 2 million monks and nuns. More than 1,000 monasteries existed in and around the capital, Luoyang.[9] In southern China, Buddhism also received official support and gained mainstream popularity.[10] The religion peaked in the Liang era (502–557), by which time the population of monks and nuns had reached 82,700.[11]

The Northern and Southern dynasties era marked the first golden age of Buddhism in China. It was during this period that the Yungang Grottoes, a UNESCO World Heritage Site composed of 252 grottoes with more than 51,000 Buddha statues, were carved in Datong, Shanxi Province.[12] If the Yungang Grottoes represent the first peak of Chinese Buddhist art, Shaolin Monastery in Dengfeng, Henan Province, is probably the other most important cultural and religious legacy of the era. It is one of the few early Chinese Buddhist monasteries that has survived violent changes of dynasty and witnessed the fusion of Buddhism with Chinese cultural traditions.

The Origins of Shaolin: History, Legends and Myths

Shaolin Monastery is located underneath the Wuru Peak of Mount Song, 15 kilometres northwest of Dengfeng and 80 kilometres southeast of Luoyang, the Northern Wei capital. It was built by Emperor Xiaowen for the Indian monk Batuo, who had travelled to China to spread Buddhist teachings.[13] Batuo had studied Buddhism in India with five friends. His friends all achieved the highest state of enlightenment, and only he was left behind. He discussed his life with his friend and was told that his destiny was linked to China.[14] So he travelled to China along the southern maritime route and was eventually received by Emperor Xiaowen in Datong, Shanxi Province, around 490.

Batuo became famous for meditation and scripture translations. Emperor Xiaowen was deeply impressed by his knowledge and invited him to teach Buddhism. The imperial court carved grottoes for Batuo in Yungang and provided funding to support him and his disciples. A businessman in the city also donated a mansion to him.[15] When the Northern Wei moved its capital from Datong to Luoyang in 494, Batuo followed the emperor to Luoyang and Xiaowen constructed a villa called Jingyuan to accommodate him.[16] Batuo had always loved the beauty and quiet of mountains and frequently visited Mount Song, so the emperor built Shaolin Monastery for him there around 496.[17] In the following years, led by Batuo, Shaolin grew into 'a major centre for translation, scholarship and meditation.'[18]

It is believed that soon after its establishment, Chinese martial arts, also known as guoshu, kung fu, wuyi or wushu,[19] was introduced to the monastery by Batuo's disciples.[20] Over the course of time, the unusual marriage of Chinese martial arts and Buddhism made Shaolin stand out

from thousands of other monasteries in China, giving it a specific and strong image in the national imagination.

The history of Chinese martial arts can be traced back to the Shang dynasty (1600–1046 BC), when the practice of combat skills using various weapons became part of military training. By the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 BC), military skills had been incorporated into the Confucian education system. Archery demonstrations and martial dances had begun to appear in rituals, ceremonies and celebrations, and were used to serve the construction of the feudal pyramid of power. In the Warring States period (476–221 BC), combat skills developed into a form of art and entertainment.

After the Qin reunified China, Emperor Qin Shi Huang (259–210 BC) banned private ownership of weapons. Jiaodi contests, primarily based on wrestling but also involving striking techniques, and Shoubo (hand-to-hand combat) developed accordingly and became a popular entertainment form. Following the collapse of the short-lived Qin dynasty (221–206 BC), the Han rulers granted civilians the right to own weapons and all males were required to perform military service. This system facilitated the development of military tactics, weapon skills and combat techniques.

By the time of the establishment of Shaolin Monastery, in a context of political chaos and social unrest, martial arts was practised by all social classes as a self-defence skill to respond to possible danger. Manuals on archery and fighting skills began to emerge. Bare-handed martial arts forms, Jiaodi and martial dances flourished.[21] In this period, with the rise of Buddhism, many civilians and retired soldiers who were martial arts practitioners converted to Buddhism and left the lay life.[22] This is illustrated by the biographies of some fifth- and sixth-century monks recorded in *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (Gaoseng Zhuan) by Shi Huijiao (497–554) and *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* (Xu Gaoseng Zhuan) by Shi Daoxuan (596–667). Below are some examples:

> Shi Huijin . . . was strong and warrior-like when he was young and he always fought for justice. He achieved self-enlightenment at the age of 40 and quit the lay life. . . . He died in 485 at the age of 85.[23]
>
> Shi Zhicheng . . . was interested in horse riding, archery and military affairs when he was a child. He joined the imperial army at the age of 17 and took part in the expedition against the Xianyun.[24] Brutal battles and killings made him feel compassionate and extremely sad. He turned to blame himself and realised that hurting other people to benefit oneself is against humanity . . . he converted to Buddhism . . . he became a monk in Fei Monastery in Shu. . . . He died in 500 at the age of 72.[25]
>
> Shi Falang . . . served in the army when he was young. . . . One day during the northern expedition, sitting by the tree with his halberd, he realised that a weapon is for killing and therefore is the source of bitterness. . . . In 528, he converted to Buddhism in Qingzhou at the age of 21. He then travelled to Yangzhou and

> followed Master Baozhi in the Daming Monastery. . . . He died in 581 at the age of 75.[26]

Some fifth- and sixth-century Buddhist monasteries accommodated martial arts practitioners and held small security forces. According to the biography of Shi Huixiu in *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*, local officials in Xiangzhou evacuated the city in 621 after hearing that rebels were approaching. Led by Huixiu, more than 20 monks from Yunmen Monastery moved into the city to defend it against the rebels and restore order.[27] The biography of Shi Zhiman in *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* indicates that monks in the Mayi region had developed a martial tradition and gained fame for their fighting skills. In 622, 2,000 monks from Mayi were summoned by the Tang court to join the army.[28]

Some monks used their martial arts skills to protect their monasteries' land and properties. Shi Minggong from Shanhui Monastery is a good example:

> Shi Minggong lived in Shanhui Monastery in Zhengzhou. . . . He had incredible strength and nobody could challenge him. Shanhui Monastery had a dispute with Chaohua Monastery over a plot of land. Chaohua Monastery gathered more than a hundred people to harvest the rice from the land in dispute. Monks in Shanhui Monastery were very anxious about it. Minggong told them not to worry. He then put six sheng of rice into a huge bell and mixed it with water. He lifted the bell with his bare hands and ate all the rice. He then lifted a huge rock which took 30 people to move. He played with the rock like it was a small stone, and threw it toward the gangs from Chaohua. They were frightened and ran away. . . .
>
> Minggong used to travel alone on the mountain. He ran into a fight between a tiger and a wild boar. The boar was losing the fight, so Minggong asked the tiger to let the boar leave. The tiger refused. Minggong grabbed the tiger by the head and the tail and threw it into the canyon. . . . Minggong died in Shanhui Monastery in 623 at the age of 85.[29]

Some monks were famous for their superior strength and fighting skills. This is illustrated in Shi Fatong's biography:

> Shi Fatong . . . had powerful muscles, and could easily lift up heavy logs and huge rocks. . . . He was respected by the emperor. A wrestler called Dazhuang from the west was challenging people at the north gate of the capital city. Nobody could defeat him. The emperor was very upset and said: 'Can't we find a strong warrior in the great Sui dynasty?' He then asked Fatong to challenge the wrestler . . . the wrestler tried hard to bring him down, but failed. He then tried

> to attack Fatong from behind. Fatong grabbed his arms, and blood poured out from his skin. He fell to the ground and begged for his life. Fatong explained: 'I did not use my full strength. Otherwise your bones would have been crushed.'[30]

It is safe to assume that like the monks in some other Buddhist monasteries and temples, the monks in Shaolin practised martial arts for various reasons.[31] Batuo's disciples Sengchou (480–560) and Huiguang (468–537) are believed to have been the pioneers who started Shaolin's martial arts tradition.

Sengchou was born in Changli, Hebei Province. He became a monk in 507 and studied Buddhism with Batuo's disciples at Jingming Monastery in Julu County. He studied at two other monasteries, on Jiayu Mountain and Zhanggong Mountain, before joining Shaolin. He became a disciple of Batuo and served as abbot of Shaolin for many years. After leaving Shaolin, he travelled around the country to spread Buddhist teachings. He became so influential that Emperor Xiaoming (510–528) and Emperor Xiaowu (510–535) of the Northern Wei built temples for him and invited him to teach Buddhism. In the 550s, Emperor Wenxuan (526–559) of the Northern Qi built Yunmen Monastery outside the capital Ye to accommodate Sengchou and his disciples. He was placed at the top of the Buddhist hierarchy. He died in 560 at the age of 81.[32]

Descriptions of Sengchou's fighting skills can be found in several examples of early seventh-century historical writing. In *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*, he is portrayed as a saint who could easily fight off bandits and tigers:

> He trained himself to be fearless. There was one time bandits attempted to intimidate him, but he showed no fear. He told them to give up their evil thoughts and destroyed their bows and arrows. The bandits converted [to Buddhism] and went away. . . . Then he was caught in a fight between two tigers. He used his Khakkhara to break up the two tigers and the tigers ran away.[33]

The Tang apocryphal collection *Complete Records of the Court and Commoners* (Chao Ye Qian Zai) by Zhang Zhuo (660–740) describes the early life of Sengchou in a monastery in the Ye region. Although the story is mixed with Buddhist mythology, it reflects the important place of martial arts in monastic life in the Northern and Southern dynasties era:

> There were many young monks in the monastery. They often had wrestling and combat competitions for entertainment. Sengchou was weak. He was easily defeated by others and was humiliated. He felt ashamed. One day he entered the hall and closed the door. He grabbed the feet of Vajradhara and said: 'I am very weak and they humiliated me. This

> is too much for me. I'd rather die. You are famous for your powerful strength. You should protect me. I will hold your feet for seven days. If you don't give me the power, I will die here. I am determined.' He then started the meditation . . . on the early morning of the seventh day, Vajradhara appeared . . . and he said: 'You already have great power. Be faithful, be confident and beware!' Then he disappeared. Sengchou returned to his residence. . . . After the meal, the monks started to play combat games again. Sengchou said: 'I have strength now and you won't be able to take it.' He showed his incredibly strong arm to everyone and said: 'I can show you.' They entered the hall; Sengchou jumped onto the wall and walked along it from west to east for hundreds of steps. He then jumped up and hung on the ceiling trusses by his head. He lifted a few thousand kilos. His punches and kicks were so fast and powerful. Anyone would have been frightened. Monks who had humiliated him before were sweating. They lay prone on the ground and dared not look into Sengchou's eyes.[34]

Shi Huiguang is another famous disciple of Batuo. He was born in Dingzhou, Hebei Province. He moved to Luoyang with his father at the age of 13 and began to study Buddhism with Batuo. He wrote exegeses for translations of Buddhist classics, including the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, *Nirvana Sūtra* and *Vimalakirti Nirdesa Sūtra*, and eventually became a master of Theravada (Hinayana) Buddhism. He compiled the *Fourfold Rules of Discipline* (Si Fen Lu Shu) and was honoured as the Saint Novice.[35] Huiguang's acrobatic skill is recorded in the biography of Batuo in *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*:

> Batuo met Huiguang in the city of Luoyang when Huiguang was showing off his shuttlecock kicking skill to the crowd. Standing on the edge of a well, he kicked a shuttlecock more than five hundred times without dropping it. While the crowd was impressed by his incredible skill, Batuo commented: 'This kid has easily mastered [shuttlecock kicking] skills. He should be talented enough to comprehend Buddhist doctrines.'[36]

Based on these stories and legends, some nineteenth- and twentieth-century martial arts practitioners created a myth that Shaolin's martial tradition had been started by Sengchou and Huiguang and later merged with Chan Buddhism, which was introduced to Shaolin by the Indian monk Bodhidharma (?–mid-530s).[37]

Bodhidharma, also known as Damo, travelled to China around the 470s to teach the Chan school of Buddhism and to seek enlightenment.[38] He arrived in southern China first and then travelled up to the north. According to legend, he crossed the Yangtze River on a single reed (see Figure 2.1).[39] He travelled around northern China for decades and visited Yongning Monastery in Luoyang, the capital of the Northern Wei

Figure 2.1 The Shaolin Monastery Stele: 'Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangtze River' (Sixteenth Century).

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

(386–534), around the 520s.[40] He then arrived at Mount Song and settled down in Shaolin.[41]

Bodhidharma's Chan teachings were primarily based on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (Lengqie Jing), a principal sutra of Mahāyāna Buddhism translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by the Indian monks Dharmakshema and Gunabhadra in the early fifth century.[42] The sutra contains a set of philosophical conversations between Śākyamuni Buddha and Bodhisattva Mahamati, which address the themes of 'inner enlightenment, the erasing of all dualities, the concept of emptiness and the truth of Cittamatra, or "mind only."'[43] It centres on the concept that all forms of objects and experience are nothing but projections of the mind and that 'the knowledge of this is something that must be realised and experienced for oneself and cannot be expressed in words.'[44]

Based on these theories, Bodhidharma developed the doctrine of 'Two Entrances and Four Practices' (Er Ru Si Xing). The two entrances refer to the two basic approaches to entering the Buddhist path and achieving enlightenment: 'Entry by Principle' (Li Ru) and 'Entry by Practice' (Xing Ru).[45]

'Entry by Principle,' also known as the 'Principle of Absolute Reality,' advocates the idea that 'all sentient beings have a Buddha nature, and that one's own Buddha nature can be revealed by "wall contemplation"' (Bi Guan).[46] According to this doctrine, 'Enlightenment is in fact the moment of revelation, when one understands the true nature of phenomenal reality and comes to a realisation of one's own purity.'[47]

'Entry by Practice' refers to the four approaches to practice: 1. retribution of enmity; 2. recognising and following causes and conditions; 3. seeking nothing and eliminating greed; 4. practising in accordance with the dharma.[48]

The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and Bodhidharma's 'Two Entrances and Four Practices' laid the theoretical foundations for Chinese Chan Buddhism. 'Two Entrances and Four Practices' was described by later Chan adepts as 'the original inspiration for the Chan notion of sudden enlightenment, or the soteriological approach of sudden awakening followed by gradual cultivation.'[49] Although Chan Buddhism had been introduced to China as early as the second century, Bodhidharma was remembered as 'the first Chan patriarch in the Chinese Chan lineage.'[50]

Kung fu manuals published in the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties describe him as a martial arts master who laid the foundations for Shaolin kung fu.[51] Nevertheless, this is merely a made-up story. While there is no evidence to support the contention that a systematic martial arts training regime had been created and adopted by Shaolin monks to assist Chan practice prior to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), there is little doubt that martial arts was practised by Shaolin monks for self-defence purposes in the early years of the monastery. This is discussed in detail in the next section.

The Sui Dynasty: Getting Involved in Warfare

By the mid-sixth century, the rapid development of Buddhism had convinced Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou (543–578) that religious institutions had become too wealthy and powerful and thus might challenge his rule. He launched campaigns of persecution against both Daoism and Buddhism in 574, and ordered monks and nuns to return to lay life.[52] Like other Buddhist monasteries, Shaolin was closed down. The persecution lasted for six years. After the ban was lifted by Emperor Jing of the Northern Zhou (573–581) in 580, Shaolin was reopened and renamed Zhihu Monastery.[53]

Toward the later years of the Northern and Southern dynasties era, Yang Jian (541–604), an influential figure in the Northern Zhou court, seized the throne and established the Sui dynasty in 581. He then conquered the Southern Chen dynasty in 589 and reunified China, more than 270 years after the fall of the Western Jin in 316. A central government was established in Chang'an and reforms were carried out by Yang Jian, now Emperor Wen of Sui, to improve the administrative structure.

The government promulgated new legal and ritual codes. As a devout Buddhist, the emperor was eager to build up his image as a divinely ordained Buddhist ruler and use the shared Buddhist faith among people in the south and the north to consolidate the unity of the newly established empire.[54] Confucianism and Daoism were also promoted to assist Buddhism in serving various forms of symbolic and ideological propaganda aimed at consolidating the legitimacy of the regime and improving social cohesion.[55] Funded by the government, a large number of Buddhist monasteries were established, and more Buddhist sutras were translated into Chinese. By the end of the Sui dynasty, there were 3,985 Buddhist monasteries and temples, accommodating 236,200 monks and nuns.[56]

Shaolin developed accordingly. Immediately after the establishment of the Sui in 581, the monastery reclaimed its original name. It was hailed by Emperor Wen for the significant role it played in people's religious lives and for its contribution in bringing peace and harmony to the newly established dynasty, and was awarded the Cypress Valley Estate (Baigu Zhuang) of over 100 acres, which lay between the monastery and the Sui dynasty's eastern capital city of Luoyang.[57] Benefiting from reunification and Emperor Wen's political and economic reforms, Shaolin enjoyed a period of prosperity.

However, the peace did not last long. After Emperor Wen died in 604, his second son, Yang Guang (569–618), ascended to the throne as Emperor Yang. The empire was soon drained by his ambitious but unsuccessful military campaigns against Goguryeo, one of the ancient Three Kingdoms of Korea. The wars placed a heavy burden on the people and bred resentment, resulting in rebellions and assassinations that eventually led to the death of Emperor Yang and the collapse of the Sui in 618.

Shaolin Monastery became a victim of this political crisis. It was attacked by a group of bandits in the early seventh century. The monks

tried to resist and held their enemies outside the gate for a time, but the monastery was eventually set on fire, looted and destroyed. This incident was recorded in the Shaolin Monastery Stele of 728 as follows:

> By the end of the Daye period, the Sui Empire had collapsed. Bandits arose and looted everyone, regardless of whether they were clergy or laity. Shaolin Monastery was attacked by bandits. The monks tried to defend it but the bandits set fire to the temples and pagodas, destroying all the buildings. Only the pagoda for Buddhabhadra survived. It was protected by the dragon and the holy spirits of the mountain. A miracle like this had never occurred before.[58]

Although the above text does not indicate that martial arts had been integrated into Shaolin monastic life, as was the case in some other fifth- and sixth-century Buddhist monasteries that accommodated martial arts practitioners and had small security forces, the monks in Shaolin undertook martial arts training in order to protect the monastery's lands and properties.[59] Shaolin's involvement in a military operation in 621 offers evidence of the monastery's martial tradition.

During the last few years of the Sui dynasty, local governors and aristocrats launched a series of revolts, with some declaring independence and establishing small kingdoms. It was during this chaotic period that Li Yuan (566–625), Duke of Tang and governor of Taiyuan, rose in rebellion in 617, seeking an end to Sui rule and the establishment of his own empire. He successfully occupied Sui's western capital of Daxing (Chang'an) in late 617. One year later, immediately after Emperor Yang of Sui was assassinated in a coup led by General Yuwen Huaji (?–619) in Jiangdu (today's Yangzhou) in April 618, Li Yuan declared himself Emperor of Tang.

Upon hearing the news of Yang Jian's death, General Wang Shichong (591–621) and Sui officials in Luoyang declared Yang Tong (604–619), grandson of Emperor Yang, the new Emperor of Sui. A few months later, Wang Shichong took the throne from Yang Tong and declared himself Emperor of the state of Zheng.[60] Meanwhile, led by Li Yuan, Tang troops had defeated the major warlords and several newly established states and were expanding toward the east. In 620, Li Yuan commissioned his son Li Shimin (598–649), Prince of Qin, to launch an expedition against Wang Shichong's Zheng state.[61]

By early 621, Li Shimin had put Luoyang under siege, waiting for the chance to crush Wang Shichong's defence force and capture the city. The Cypress Valley Estate, awarded to Shaolin by Emperor Wen of Sui, was a key strategic point to the southeast of Luoyang. The estate and its fortified town Huanzhou were controlled by Wang Shichong's nephew Wang Renze, posing a threat to the Tang troops that had stationed outside Luoyang. While the Tang army was planning to capture this strategic

point, Shaolin came to assist. Led by Head Monk Shi Shanhu and Abbot Shi Zhicao,[62] the Shaolin monks sided with the advancing Tang armies to recover Huanzhou and helped capture Wang Renze on 23 May 621.

Obviously, the Shaolin monks' decision to attack the fortress town of the Cypress Valley Estate held by Wang Renze was 'motivated by the desire to recover their land and by their hope of ingratiating themselves with the Tang forces who appeared poised to win the war.'[63] Three days later, on 26 May 621, in gratitude for Shaolin's military support, Li Shimin wrote a letter acknowledging their contribution. Li Anyuan (575–633), the Supreme Pillar of State and dynasty-founding Duke of Deguang Jun, was sent by Shimin to Shaolin to present the letter to the monks (see Figure 2.2). The letter reads as follows:

> Prince of Qin Li Shimin (Defender-in-Chief, Chief Imperial Secretary, Governor of Shandongdao and Yizhoudao, Governor of Yongzhou, General-in-Chief of Left and Right Wuhou, Inspector and Governor of Liangzhou, Supreme Pillar of State) to the Head Monk, the abbot and their disciples, military and civilian leaders:
>
> The world is in chaos. People are waiting for the true leader. The world is falling apart. The Buddhist paths of Hinayana, Pratyeka-buddha and Mahāyāna' were blocked. Therefore, the Jambudvīpa was overturned and violent wars broke out. The country is like boiling soup in a pot and the devils are rising. The Tang has been

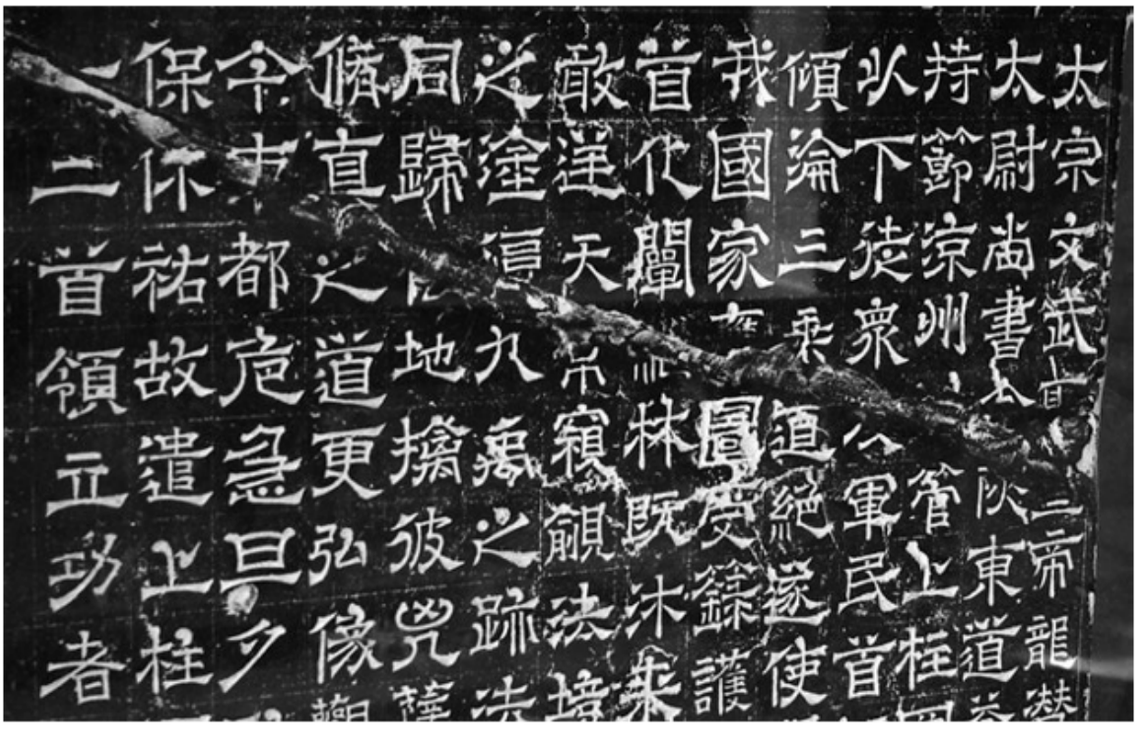

Figure 2.2 The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 696: 'Emperor Taizhong of Tang's Letter.'

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

> blessed and rises to protect the dharma, allowing Buddhist teachings to spread around the country and make the Buddha present. People and the monks/nuns will be inspired and enlightened by the dharma. They will be awakened and blessed.
>
> Wang Shichong stole and occupied Shaolin's property. He dared to act against the will of heaven. He cast greedy eyes on the Buddhist Pure Land and acted recklessly. Now the breeze of holiness is blowing over the Buddhist Pure Land. The light of enlightenment is shining. The Noble Eightfold Path is opening and the Nine Realms have been restored. The master and the monks of Shaolin realised the changes and comprehended karma and vipaka. They made good plans and received good vipaka. They captured the fierce rebel Wang Renze and returned peace to this holy land.
>
> The Shaolin monks followed the will of heaven and showed their loyalty to Tang. They followed dharma and proved the importance of understanding karma and vipaka in the process of achieving Buddhist enlightenment. I have heard that Buddhist nirvana is extraordinary. Buddhist followers are blessed by the Buddha and are well supported. Buddhist doctrines are as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.
>
> The eastern capital Luoyang is in crisis. You have defeated the rebels within one day. I shall reward you for this great achievement and set it as an example for the people. People will be blessed and live peacefully. Therefore I am sending Anyuan, Supreme Pillar of State and Dynasty-founding Duke of Deguang Jun, to Shaolin to present my letter. I can meet one or two leaders who made contributions to the battle of the Cypress Valley Estate. This is all I want to say.[64]

The Tang court honoured the 13 monks who took part in the battle of the Cypress Valley Estate: Head Monk Shanhu, Abbot Zhicao, Duweina Monk Huiyang, monk Tanzong, monk Puhui, monk Minggao, monk Lingxian, monk Pusheng, monk Zhishou, monk Daoguang, monk Zhixing, monk Man and monk Feng.[65] Monk Tanzong was offered the position of Great General of the imperial army. These rewards leave no doubt as to the Shaolin monks' fighting skills and their abilities as soldiers.[66]

The Shaolin monks' contribution to Li Shimin's expedition against Wang Shichong did not guarantee peace for the monastery. On 4 June 621, Wang Shichong surrendered to the Tang. In order to eliminate any possible rebellions by Wang's remaining followers, religious institutions in the territory of the former state of Zheng were closed down. Monks and nuns were dismissed by the authorities. Shaolin and its properties were seized in 622. Shaolin monks made appeals to the imperial court, claiming that their military support for Li Shimin had demonstrated their loyalty to the Tang regime.[67] It was not until August 624 that Shaolin Monastery reopened.[68] On 28 March 625, the imperial court returned

the confiscated land and properties to Shaolin. This was recorded in a letter by Li Shimin's key advisor Fang Xuanling (579–648) to Shaolin:

> Grant Shaolin 40 qing [1,320,000 square metres] of land and a watermill. The land and watermill confiscated by the state when the monastery was closed [in 622] shall be returned to Shaolin.[69]

The Tang Dynasty: Shaolin as a Centre for Buddhist Studies

After recovering Luoyang, the Tang troops gradually overwhelmed other rebel opposition and had established control over Sui territory by mid-620. In 626, Li Shimin assumed the throne and was crowned Emperor Taizong of Tang.[70] He restored the centralised bureaucratic system of Sui and made efforts to limit the power of the aristocratic families in both central and local government.[71] In terms of religious policy, Shimin 'adopted the Sui policy of offering patronage to all three principal Chinese religions and philosophies.'[72] Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism were promoted accordingly.

Although the Tang government provided official support to mainstream religions, decrees and policies were issued to govern and regulate religious institutions and to control their size. A decree issued in 694 stated that all monks and nuns were to be governed by the Ministry of Rites. According to a decree issued in 722, monks and nuns were to be allocated farmland according to the law. Extra land owned by religious institutions was to be confiscated by the government and reallocated to poor farmers.[73] Monasteries with a population of 100 or more could occupy no more than ten qing of land. Monasteries with a population between 50 and 100 could occupy no more than seven qing of land. Monasteries with fewer than 50 monks/nuns could occupy no more than five qing of land.[74]

Under Taizong's rule, Chinese civilisation entered a golden age. Unification brought about stability. People were freed from warfare, and agricultural production increased steadily. New cities and towns were built to accommodate the quickly growing population. Both domestic and foreign trade flourished, and foreign merchants from central Asia began to arrive in larger numbers, which facilitated communication between China and foreign civilisations and gave rise to cosmopolitanism.[75]

Chinese Buddhism benefited enormously from the opportunity for closer contact with Indians and central Asians. Monks travelled to the birthplace of Buddhism to collect Buddhist texts and seek enlightenment. These exchange activities were officially supported by Emperor Taizong and his successors and helped Chinese Buddhism to develop its unique characteristics. Various schools of Buddhism based on Indian counterparts but with unique Chinese characteristics started to rise, including Tiantai, Pure Land (Jingtu), Three Sastra (Sanlun), Huayan, Faxiang, Vinaya (Lü), Zhenyan, Sanjie and Chan.[76]

As Buddhism continued to grow in popularity as a religion and philosophy of life, and due to the Shaolin monks' contribution to Li Shimin's expedition against Wang Shichong, the monastery enjoyed royal patronage. When Shaolin was reopened in 624, it accommodated approximately 120 monks.[77] The letter from Fang Xuanlin, which awarded 40 qing of land to Shaolin, reflected the status of the monastery and the special treatment it received from the Tang government. In the following decades, the monastery gradually developed into a centre of Buddhist studies.

As discussed in the previous section, the Chinese Chan lineage was started by the Indian monk Bodhidharma, who joined Shaolin in the 520s. Historical writings indicate that he died in the early 530s.[78] Bodhidharma's disciple Shi Huike (487–593) is considered the second patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhism.[79] Huike was born in Hulao (today's Xiangyang, Henan Province) and studied Buddhist and Confucian classics when he was young. At the age of 30, he became a Buddhist monk at Xiangshan Monastery in Longmen, Luoyang.[80] At the age of 40, he travelled to Shaolin to seek further enlightenment. He studied Chan with Bodhidharma for six years and became his principal dharma heir.

After Bodhidharma died, Huike travelled around the country to spread Chan Buddhist teachings. He arrived in Ye, the capital city of the Northern Wei (534–550), around 534. A few disciples of a monk named Daoheng converted and began following the teachings of Huike. Daoheng then attacked Huike in revenge, and cut off his arm.[81] Based on this story, Huike's followers developed a legend which has it that when Huike first arrived in Shaolin, Bodhidharma was practising wall contemplation. He was deeply impressed and determined to follow the path of Chan. During a long night of snow, Huike stood outside the Dharma Hall, pleading to be admitted by Bodhidharma. By the morning, the snow was over his knees, but he did not give up. Finally, he cut off his left arm and presented it to Bodhidharma to prove his sincerity[82] (see Figure 2.3). Around the twelfth or thirteenth century, the Shaolin monks built the Snow Pavilion in commemoration of Huike (see Figure 2.4).[83]

During his travels in the Northern Qi era (550–577), Huike transmitted the dharma to Shi Sengca (?–606) and confirmed him as the third patriarch of Chan. He died during the Buddhist and Daoist persecution of 574–580 launched by Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou. In this period, Sengcan secluded himself for years on Mount Wangong, Shuzhou (today's Taihu County, Anhui Province) and Mount Sikong (today's Yuexi County, Anhui Province) to avoid persecution. After the revival of Buddhism and Daoism in 580, Sengcan continued to travel in the mountains of Anhui Province.

In 593, a young Buddhist candidate named Shi Daoxin (580–651) became a disciple of Sengcan. He studied with him for years and became the fourth Chinese patriarch of Chan. He then taught Chan Buddhism in several monasteries in today's Jiangxi Province and Hubei Province.

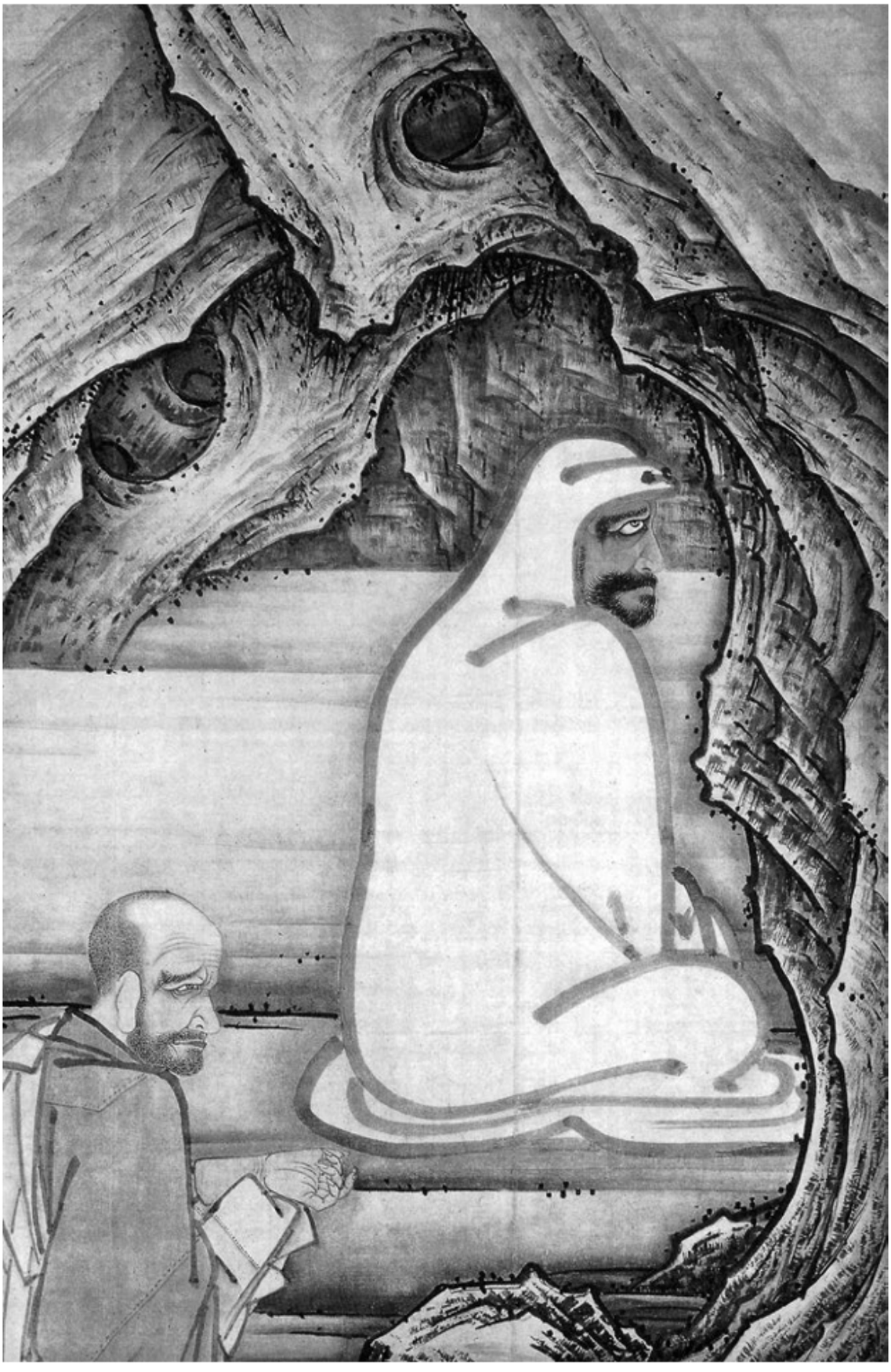

Figure 2.3 'Huike Presenting His Arm to Bodhidharma' (1496) by Japanese Painter and Zen Priest Sesshū Tōyō (1420–1506).

Source: Fotoe.

Figure 2.4 The Snow Pavilion, Shaolin Monastery.[84]

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

In 624, Daoxin established Zhengjue Monastery underneath Mount Poe in Huangmei County, Hubei Province.[85] He lived the rest of his life there and advocated the theory of Yixing Sanmei, that 'one is able to maintain a mind that is singularly pure in all places, whether one is walking, standing, sitting or lying down.'[86] According to this theory, Chan meditation can be practised at any time and on any occasion, as the cultivation emphasises understanding the mind. To attain this state, one must believe deeply in the law of karma and vipaka, strictly uphold the precepts of this law, hold firm faith and have converted to following the Buddhist path.[87]

Unlike the previous Chan patriarchs, who had travelled around the country and only passed Chan teachings to a limited number of disciples, Daoxin settled down to teach and introduced Chan to a wider audience. He became so famous that Emperor Taizong invited him several times to teach Chan Buddhism at the imperial court. By the time he died in 651, he had more than 500 followers in Zhengjue Monastery.[88] Daoxin transmitted the dharma to his disciple Shi Hongren (602–675), who, following the example of his master, established his own monastery in Huangmei County in 654 and developed Daoxin's Chan doctrines into the East Mountain Teaching.[89]

Up until the early seventh century, Chan remained a hidden tradition. The transmission of Chan took place between a teacher and a handful of students.[90] The teachings and learnings were primarily based on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, a long and complicated text that does not welcome

casual readers. The reforms carried out by the fourth patriarch Daoxin and the fifth patriarch Hongren gave rise to large-scale Chan communes. The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* was no longer suitable for 'larger audiences of varying degrees of comprehension.'[91] The relatively short *Diamond Sūtra* (Jingang Jing), a well-known Mahāyāna sutra which could be memorised and chanted more easily than other sutras, began to be adopted by Chan masters.[92] The sutra emphasises that 'ideas of an ego or self are false and must be negated.'[93] Its primary focus is the practice of non-abiding and non-attachment, which includes giving without notions, liberation with no notion of self, living without abiding and cultivating without attainment.[94] The greatest amount of merit can be achieved by studying, understanding, spreading and sharing the teachings of the sutra.[95] Hongren was said to have been in favour of the sutra and to have recommended it to his disciples.[96]

By the mid-seventh century, Hongren's disciples had developed Chan into two branches: the northern school, headed by Shi Shenxiu (606–706), and the southern school, led by Shi Huineng (638–713).

Shenxiu's northern Chan school continued to base its teachings on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. The doctrine centres on the concept that an enlightened person's mind is as clear as a mirror. Constant and gradual cleaning of the mirror is required to keep the dust away. It upholds the idea that enlightenment is a gradual process and that spiritual cultivation is a purposeful activity, one which requires detachment from the phenomenal world and emphasises the importance of seeing the ultimate truth, namely non-being or emptiness.[97] From the point of view of the northern school, 'ultimate reality is sought, the goal of which is the real, undefiled mind.'[98] Only the undefiled mind is real. The cultivation of the mind is a long and difficult process involving arduous physical and mental exertion, self-discipline and self-restraint.[99]

The northern school's teachings and ideas won appreciation from Empress Wu Zetian (624–705) and her successors.[100] Shenxiu was invited to teach Chan to politicians and was appointed Grand Master/National Teacher of Tang.[101] After the empress died, Shenxiu continued to serve Emperor Zhongzong Li Xian (656–710) and Emperor Ruizong Li Dan (662–716). He was honoured as the Dharma Master of the Two Capitals and the Teacher of Three Emperors.[102] After Shenxiu died in 706, Emperor Zhongzong granted him the posthumous title of Greatly Penetrating Dhyāna Master. In the following decades, northern Chan continued to be developed by Shenxiu's disciples, headed by Shi Puji (651–739)[103] and Shi Yifu (658–736).[104]

Huineng, creator of the southern school, promoted his Chan teachings in Baolin Monastery in Shaozhou, Guangdong Province, in southern China.[105] Huineng and his disciples advocated the *Diamond Sūtra*. Legend has it that when Huineng was still a child, he heard a passage from the *Diamond Sūtra* on the way home. From that very moment he decided

to study Buddhism, and so he travelled to Mount Huangmei and became Hongren's disciple.[106]

The southern school advocated the ideas of 'Directly Pointing to the Heart/Mind' (Zhi Zhi Ren Xin) and 'Seeing Nature and Becoming a Buddha' (Jian Xing Cheng Fo).[107] It claimed that 'all minds are similar and equal because all humans have the same mind.'[108] Therefore, it held that everyone possessed a Buddha nature and thus could be 'enlightened at once without lengthy, arduous study by using formless precepts and unfettered meditation.'[109]

In contrast to the northern school, the southern school avoided metaphysical speculation about ultimate truth and instead focused on mental illumination. It centred on the doctrine of instant enlightenment, which:

> does not accept that there is a development path toward enlightenment but holds that it is immediate and in that sense timeless. Instantaneous enlightenment looks neither to [improve] the past nor to [positively influence] the future but to embrace the moment of the enlightenment, that very present.[110]

This instant enlightenment does not have an object. The proper object of knowledge is one's own mind, and 'there is no distinction between the mind as subject and the mind as object.'[111]

In general, the southern school did away with complicated scriptures, rituals, intense meditation and ascetic practices, and significantly lowered the threshold for Chan practice. It allowed Chan to be introduced to a wider audience, especially the illiterate lower classes.[112] With the efforts of Huineng and his disciples, the southern school integrated Buddhist doctrines with Daoist and Confucian philosophies and thoroughly reformed Indian Chan into Chinese Chan.

Huineng's disciples compiled the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Liuzu Tan Jing) based on his discourses, teachings and stories. The *Platform Sūtra* greatly elevated the status of Huineng and facilitated the development of the southern school of Chan. It became one of the most popular texts among the Chan communes in China and has been revered and studied for centuries. Many historians and philosophers have asserted that the rise of Huineng's southern school marked the real beginning of Chinese Chan Buddhism.[113]

Shenxiu and Huineng were widely regarded as the joint sixth Chinese patriarch of Chan, due to their contributions to the development of Chan Buddhism. Historical literature shows that the fifth Chan patriarch Hongren's prime disciple Shi Faru (638–689) is traditionally thought to have received dharma transmission from Hongren, and was therefore honoured as the sixth Chan patriarch as well.

Faru served Hongren until he died in 674. He joined Shaolin in 683. His arrival in Shaolin marked the revival of the Chan tradition after the

second patriarch Huike had left the monastery more than a century previously. Unlike Huineng and Shenxiu, who had actively promoted their own Chan sects, Faru kept a low profile and practised orthodox Chan teaching in Shaolin for three years. It was not until 686 that he began to teach, further boosting the reputation of Shaolin Monastery as the cradle of Chan.[114] After Faru died in Shaolin in 689, a pagoda and a stele entitled 'Biography of Chan Master Shi Faru' were erected to commemorate him. This stele was one of the first texts to review the history of the development of Chan Buddhism in China. It stated:

> Chan was from India. It was not based on text. It was passed down by comprehension. . . . Tripitaka Dharma Master Bodhidharma from southern India promoted this sect and introduced it to neighbouring countries in the east. Chan is an incredible religion. Bodhidharma travelled to the Northern Wei and transmitted the dharma to [Hui] Ke. [Hui] Ke transmitted the dharma to [Seng] Can; [Seng] Can transmitted the dharma to [Dao] Xin; [Dao] Xin transmitted the dharma to [Hong] Ren; [Hong] Ren transmitted the dharma to [Fa] Ru. Only the true successor could fully comprehend Chan.[115]

By the late seventh century, Shaolin had gained great fame. Emperor Gaozong (628–683) and Empress Wu Zetian visited the monastery in 672 and provided donations.[116] Wu Zetian also composed a poem and an essay for Shaolin (see Figure 2.5). A few months later, she wrote a letter to Shaolin and again made donations. In 683, Emperor Gaozong bestowed a scroll upon which he had written in calligraphy the character 'fei' (fly) to Shaolin. The Shaolin monks inscribed the character on the wall of the monastery's main hall.[117] In 692, Empress Wu Zetian moved several Shaolin Buddha statues to the imperial palace for worship. Three years later, she offered funding to Shaolin for renovations.[118]

In 684, Emperor Zhongzong (656–710) ordered Shaolin to appoint 'Ten Top Role Model Monks.' In 723, Emperor Xuanzong (685–762) inscribed 'Emperor Taizong's Letter' on a tablet and presented it to Shaolin. These seven characters were later used as the heading of the famed Shaolin Stele of 728: 'The Emperor Tang Songyue Shaolin Monastery Monument' (see Figure 2.6). The stele was erected to reinforce the monastery's close relationship with the ruling regime. It included letters from Emperor Taizong and the Tang government, as well as an inscription by Minister of Personnel Pei Cui (662–736) which reviewed the history of Shaolin since its establishment in 496, highlighting the favourable treatment the monastery received from the Tang monarchy, as well as from emperors of previous dynasties.

In the meantime, as one of the most famous Buddhist monasteries near the empire's eastern capital Luoyang, Shaolin was frequented by leading politicians, scholars and poets, including Shen Quanqi (656–714), Song

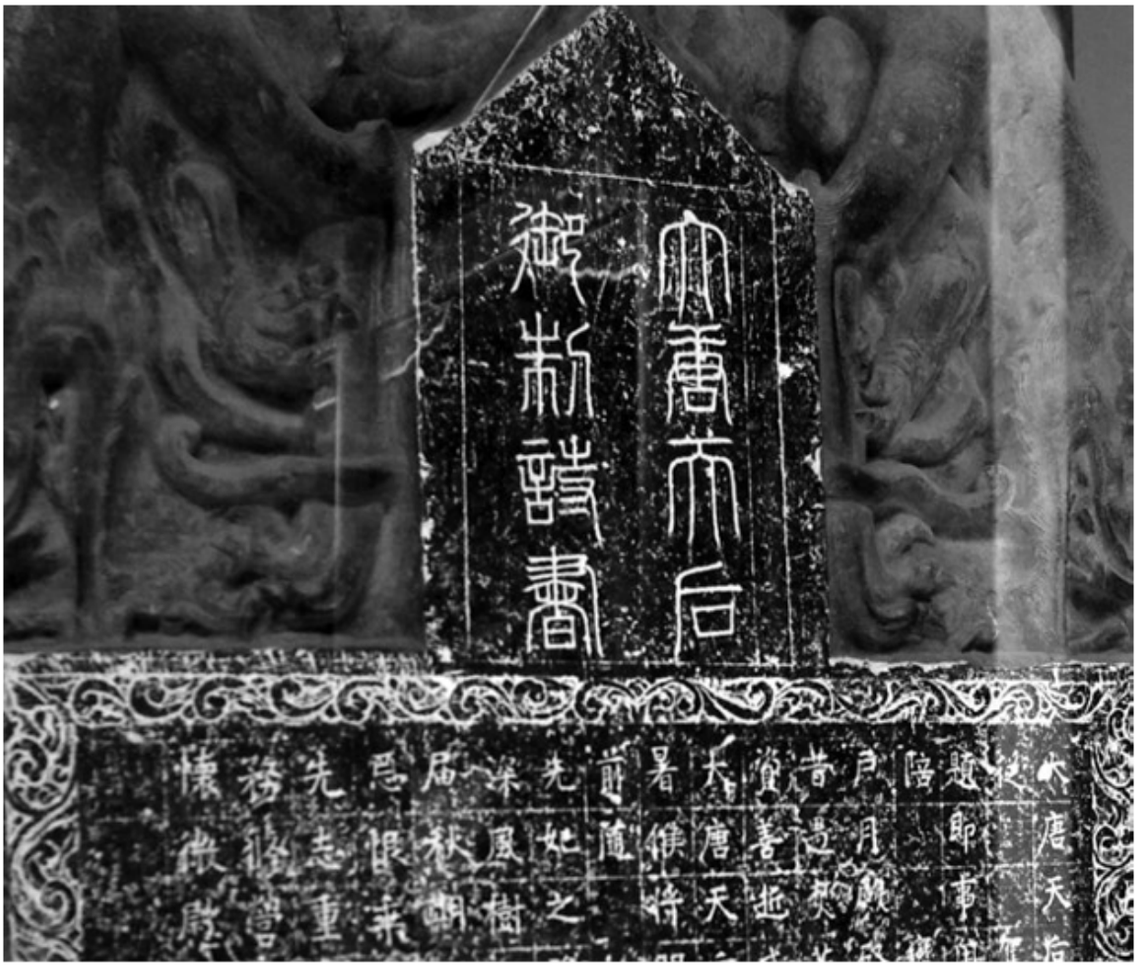

Figure 2.5 The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 683: 'Poem and Essay by the Empress of Tang, Calligraphy by Wang Zhijing.'

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

Zhiwen (656–712), Wei Yingwu (737–792), Dai Shulu (732–789) and Bai Juyi (772–846).[119] They composed poems to praise the beauty and holiness of Shaolin Monastery and Mount Song, as illustrated in Shen Quanqi's 'A Tour of Shaolin Monastery':

> Travelling on the land of seven treasures,[120]
> Stepping into the forest of the Mani Jewel.[121]
> The pagodas and the dragon pool illustrate the long history of Shaolin.
> Washed by the rain, the red garden shines in the sunlight,
> The green temples hide in the shade of the autumn spectrum.
> Mixed with mist a magnificent sunset glows on the road to home,
> The chorus of cicadas continues.[122]

The popularity and status of Shaolin were reflected in the requests by famous Tripitaka Dharma Master Shi Xuanzang (602–664) to join the monastery in 645 and 657. Xuanzang was born into the family of a

Figure 2.6 The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 728: 'The Emperor Tang Songyue Shaolin Temple Monument.'

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

former Sui official in 602 and joined Pure Land Monastery in Luoyang at the age of 13.[123] Inspired by an Indian monk, he decided to go to India in 628. He travelled along the Silk Road through today's Xinjiang, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Kashmir and reached India around 631. Xuanzang then studied Buddhism in India for more than ten years, visiting renowned masters and monasteries around the country and collecting hundreds of scriptural texts.[124] He decided to return to China in 643 and arrived in Chang'an in February 645, bringing back Buddha statues, relics and 657 Mahāyāna' and Hinayana texts.[125] In the same month, he was received by Emperor Taizong in Luoyang and offered a high-ranking official post. He refused and indicated that he hoped to stay in Shaolin Monastery to translate and study Buddhist texts.[126] The request was declined, and he was ordered by the emperor to return to Chang'an to establish a translation academy in Qifu Monastery.

Xuanzang started the translation work in May 645 and finished *Great Tang Records of the Western Regions* (Datang Xiyu Ji) in 646.[127] He then followed Emperor Taizong to Yuhua Palace in Tonchuan, Shaanxi Province, and translated the *Yogacarabhumi Sastra* there. In 648, he returned to Chang'an with the emperor and was appointed head monk of the newly constructed Grand Cien Monastery. During these years, Emperor Taizong made several unsuccessful attempts to convince Xuanzang to

return to lay life and serve the Tang court. After Emperor Taizong died in 649, his successor Emperor Gaozong continued to invite Xuanzang to serve the Tang government. Xuanzang refused and again applied to join Shaolin in 657, hoping to spend the rest of his life in the monastery and be buried there. The application was turned down, as the emperor still hoped to convince him to serve the imperial court. When Xuanzang died in 664 in Yuhua Palace, Emperor Gaozong cancelled imperial audiences for three days to pay his respects. Xuanzang is remembered as one of the most illustrious figures in the history of Chinese Buddhism.[128] His requests to join Shaolin indicate the important position of the monastery in the religious sphere.

By the early eighth century, Shaolin had grown into a centre for Buddhist studies. The return of the sixth Chan patriarch Faru had helped it to consolidate its position as the cradle of Chan and it attracted and accommodated leading Chan masters from the northern school, such as Hongren's disciple Shi Daoan (582–709), Faru's disciple Shi Yuangui (644–689), Yuangui's disciple Shi Lingyun (?–729) and Puji's disciples Shi Tongguang (700–770) and Shi Fawan (715–790) (see Figure 2.7). Tongguang's disciple Shi Weiji served as the fifth abbot of Shaolin between 770 and 791. Fawan's disciple Shi Lingcou was appointed abbot in 791.[129]

In addition to Chan, Shaolin welcomed Dharma Masters from other schools of Buddhism, notably Vinaya and Tiantai.[130] In 704, Tripitaka Dharma Master Shi Yijing (635–713), a famous Chinese monk who had studied Buddhism in Malaysia, Indonesia and India for more than 20 years and had brought hundreds of Buddhist texts back to China, restored the precept platform in Shaolin to promote Vinaya teachings.[131] In 880, Tiantai school master Shi Xingjun (848–925)[132] was appointed abbot of Shaolin and served the monastery for 45 years.[133] After Xingjun died in 925, his disciple, Tiantai master Shi Hongtai, succeeded him.[134]

During Emperor Xuanzong's reign (712–756), the northern Chan and southern Chan were in competition with one another. In 734, organised by the emperor, a debate between the two schools was held in Luoyang. The southern school, led by the Sixth Patriarch Huineng's disciple Shi Shenhui (684–758), defeated the northern school. In the following decades, the influence of southern Chan gradually surpassed that of northern Chan. By the second half of the ninth century, the southern school had developed into the Five Houses: the Weiyang school, the Linji school, the Caodong school, the Fayan school and the Yunmen school (see Figure 2.7).[135] The northern schools declined accordingly.

Shaolin Monastery, which used to be a centre of the northern school of Chan, began to advocate the southern school. In 797, southern school master Shi Weikuan (748–817) joined Shaolin. He practised and taught Chan Buddhism at the Monastery for years and was later invited by Emperor Xianzong of Tang (778–820) to teach in Anguo Monastery in

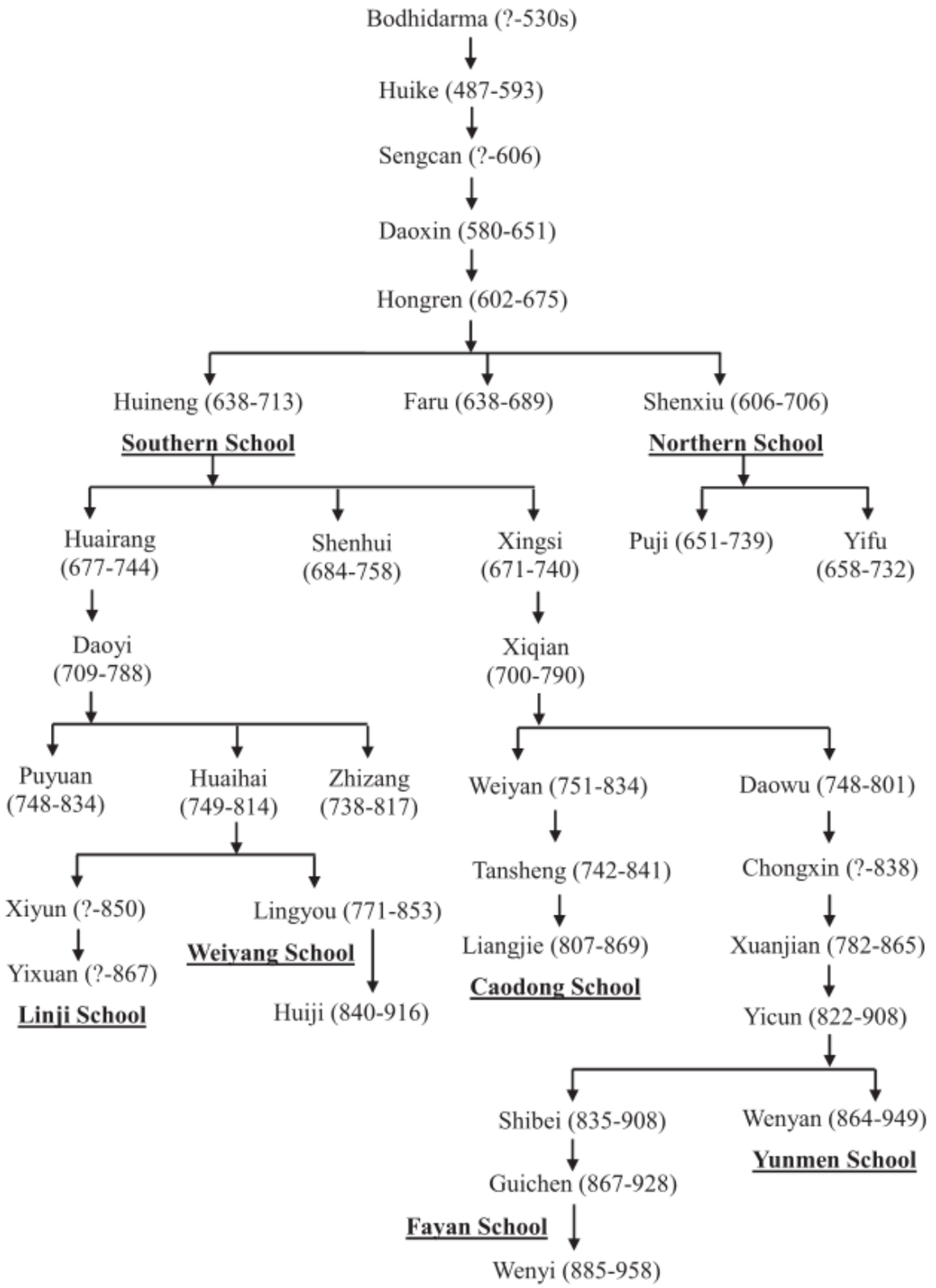

Figure 2.7 The Lineage of Chinese Chan Buddhism.

Source: Chart created by author.

Luoyang, and was posthumously awarded the title of Chan Master Great Penetration by the emperor.[136]

In general, during the Tang dynasty, Buddhism was in favour and supported by most of the Tang emperors and developed together with

Daoism and Confucianism. Emperor Wuzong (814–846) was an exception. As a zealous follower of Daoism, he was hostile toward Buddhism and believed that it was a burden on society and the economy because Buddhist monasteries had too much land and wealth, and monks/nuns were exempt from taxation. He launched the Huichang Persecution of Buddhism (844–845) to suppress and eliminate the Buddhist religious establishment.[137] By August 845, more than 4,600 Buddhist monasteries/temples had been closed down and some 260,500 monks and nuns had been dismissed. Hundreds of millions of acres of land were confiscated.[138] Other religions, such as Nestorianism, Islam, Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, were also suppressed and prosecuted. At the same time, the imperial court officially promoted Daoist worship.

After the persecution, the multitude of different schools of Buddhism no longer existed. Chan, notably Huineng's southern school, soon recovered and began to dominate the Buddhist world.[139] Shaolin survived this major change and continued to develop as a centre of Chan Buddhism in the following centuries.

Conclusion

Shaolin was born in the first golden age of Buddhism in China. The development of Shaolin in its early years reflected the transformation of Chinese society. In the context of the social unrest brought about by civil wars, power struggles and rebellions, a large portion of the Chinese population converted to Buddhism, seeking spiritual sanctuary and a path to heaven. Martial arts was practised for self-defence by the monks in some Buddhist monasteries. Shaolin's martial tradition was started by Batuo's disciples. The Shaolin monks undertook martial arts training in order to protect the monastery's lands and property from bandits and rebels. Records show they attempted to defend the monastery against bandits during the late Sui dynasty and also joined the Tang army's battle against Wang Renze in 621. This martial tradition helped Shaolin to win favourable treatment from the Tang court.

Thanks to royal patronage, Shaolin became one of the most famous Buddhist monasteries near the empire's eastern capital Luoyang, and was visited and hailed by emperors, politicians, scholars and poets. In the meantime, based on the legends of the first Chan patriarch Bodhidharma and the second patriarch Huike, Shaolin earned great fame as the cradle of Chan and grew into a centre of Buddhist studies. It not only accommodated the country's leading Chan masters but also attracted Dharma Masters from other schools of Buddhism.

The development of Shaolin from the mid-Tang dynasty also reflected the transformation and Sinification of Chan Buddhism, with Huineng's southern school replacing Shenxiu's northern school to become the dominant Chinese Chan faction and the main representative of Chan orthodoxy. In

the late Tang dynasty, Shaolin survived the Huichang Persecution of Buddhism (844–845). From the late ninth century, as Chan rose to dominate the Chinese Buddhist world, the monastery continued to develop as a centre for Chan Buddhism.

Notes

1. Mei Fu, 'Guo Shaolin si shi er shou' (Two poems for Shaolin), in *Zhongguo Fo si zhi* (Historical collections of Chinese Buddhist monasteries), set 2, vol. 24, ed. Jiexiang Du (Taipei: Mingwen Book Company, 1980), 496. English translation by author.
2. Fu Mei served as the Dengfeng County magistrate in the early seventeenth century.
3. Jacques Gernet, *A History of Chinese Civilization*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 186.
4. The Xianbei was a group of nomadic tribes that lived in the Eurasian Steppe region.
5. Zhixin Wang, *Zhongguo zongjiao sixiang shi dagang* (The history of Chinese religious thoughts) (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2015), 107.
6. Wenlan Fan, *Tangdai fojiao* (Buddhism in the Tang dynasty) (Chongqing: Chognqing chuban she, 2008), 3; Wang, *Zhongguo zongjiao sixiang shi dagang*, 105, 107, 116–117.
7. Wang, *Zhongguo zongjiao sixiang shi dagang*, 117.
8. Xuanzhi Yang, *Luoyang qielan ji* (A record of Buddhist monasteries in Luoyang), trans. Rong Shang (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2012), 6.
9. Yang, *Luoyang qielan ji*, 8.
10. Liu Song dynasty (420–479): 1,913 monasteries, 36,000 monks/nuns; Southern Qi dynasty (479–502): 2,015 monasteries, 32,000 monks/nuns; Liang dynasty (502–557): 2,846 monasteries, 82,700 monks/nuns; Chen dynasty (557–589): 1,232 monasteries, 32,000 monks/nuns. See: Haiming Lu, *Liu Chao Ducheng* (Capitals of the six dynasties) (Nanjing: Nanjing chuban she, 2002), 244.
11. Zijin Wang and Guanghua Fang, *Qin han wei jin nanbei chao shi* (The history of Qin, Han, Wei, Jin and the Southern and Northern dynasties) (Taipei: Wu-nan Culture Enterprise, 2002), 482.
12. Shichang Ma and Mingyi Ding, *Zhongguo Fojiao shiku kaogu gaiyao* (Chinese Buddhist grottoes) (Beijing: Wenwu chuban she, 2009), 302.
13. Yuxi Hu, 'Shaolin wushu fazhan de lishi guiyin' (Factors that influenced the history of Shaolin kung fu), *Tiyu wenhua daokan*, no. 5 (2012): 116.
14. Daoxuan Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan zhong* (Further biographies of eminent monks II), ed. Shaolin Guo (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2014), 563–564.
15. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *zhong*, 564.
16. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *zhong*, 564.
17. Rixin Cai, *Zhongguo Chanzong de xingcheng* (The formation of Chinese Chan Buddhism) (Taipei: Yunlong chuban she, 2000), 98; Yongtong Tang, *Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi* (Buddhism during the Han, Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern dynasties era) (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2015), 670.
18. William M. Johnston, ed., *Encyclopedia of Monasticism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), 1159.
19. Guoshu, literally 'national skills', was used in China between the 1920s and 1940s when a nationwide campaign was launched by the nationalist government to promote Chinese martial arts in the education sector and

in society. After the nationalist government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, it continued to promote guoshu there. The term was also used by martial arts practitioners in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia; kung fu (功夫), literally 'effort', 'ability' or 'skills', is used in both China and foreign countries, notably the United States; wuyi, literally 'martial arts' or 'feats', first appeared in Han dynasty literature (206 BC–AD 220); wushu, literally 'martial skills', first appeared in an essay collection edited by Prince Xiao Tong (501–531) of the Southern Liang Dynasty (502–557). At first, the term referred to military affairs and operations. Its meaning changed over the course of time and became a collective term for military skills, combat skills, weapon techniques and martial arts performances. The term came into common use in the late nineteenth century and has been used as the official term for Chinese martial arts since the 1950s. For many martial arts practitioners in the US, kung fu refers to traditional Chinese martial arts while wushu refers to modern martial arts developed in mainland China.

20. Wushu Research Academy of the Sports Ministry, ed., *Zhongguo wushu shi* (The history of Chinese wushu) (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chuban she, 1997), 126.
21. Pixiang Qiu, ed., *Zhongguo wushu shi* (A history of Chinese martial arts) (Beijing: Higher Education Press, 2008), 53–54.
22. Aimin Ma, 'Woguo lishi shang de siyuan shangwu huodong xin tan' (Martial arts activities in Buddhist monasteries in ancient China), *Beijing tiyu daxue xuebao*, no. 6 (2004): 758.
23. Huijiao Shi, *Gaoseng zhuan xia* (Biographies of eminent monks II), trans. Zhu Hengfu, Wang Xuejun and Zhao Yi (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chuban she, 2010), 734.
24. A nomadic tribe.
25. Shi, *Gaoseng zhuan xia*, 689.
26. Daoxuan Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan shang* (Further biographies of eminent monks I), ed. Guo Shaolin (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2014), 224–227.
27. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan zhong*, 532–536.
28. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan zhong*, 711–714.
29. Daoxuan Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan xia* (Further biographies of eminent monks III), ed. Guo Shaolin (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2014), 1053–1054.
30. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan xia*, 1061.
31. Ma, 'Woguo lishi shang de siyuan shangwu huodong', 759.
32. Wenming Xu, 'A study of early transmissions of the Tiantai School', in *Buddhism*, ed. Luo Yulei, trans. Pei-Ying Lin (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 91.
33. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan zhong*, 573–579.
34. Zhuo Zhang, *Chao ye qian zai* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1979), 39–40.
35. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan zhong*, 821–825.
36. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan zhong*, 564.
37. Dali Cheng, *Shaolin wushu shi kao lue* (A study of the history of Shaolin) (Beijing: Religious Culture Press, 2016), 164.
38. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan zhong*, 565–566.
39. Guangchang Fang, *Zhongguo Fojiao wenhua daguan* (Chinese Chan Buddhism culture) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2001), 545.
40. Shi Hu, *Chan xue zhi gui* (Studies on Chan Buddhism) (Beijing: Beijing Lianhe chuban she, 2012), 17.
41. Yucheng Wen, *Shaolin shihua* (Book on history of Shaolin Temple with illustrations) (Beijing: Gold Wall Press, 2009), 31.

42. The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* was first translated into Chinese by the Indian monk Dharmakshema, who travelled to China via the Silk Road oasis of Dunhuang around 414. The second translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* was completed by the Indian monk Gunabhadra in 443. The third translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* was done by the Indian monk Bodhiruchi in 513. The fourth translation was produced in 700–704 by a group of translators led by Sikshananda and the initiative was supported by Empress Wu Zetian of the Tang dynasty. Wu Zetian wrote the preface for the translation. See: Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankavatara Sūtra* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1981), 7–8.
43. Northrop Frye, *Northrop Frye's Notebooks and Lectures on the Bible and Other Religious Texts*, ed. Robert D. Denham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 46.
44. *The Lankavatara Sūtra*, trans. Red Pine (Berkley: Counterpoint Press, 2012), 303.
45. Stephen J. Laumakis, *An Introduction to Buddhist Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 193–195.
46. Richard Bowring, *The Religious Traditions of Japan 500–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 293.
47. Bowring, *The Religious Traditions of Japan 500–1600*, 293.
48. Laumakis, *An Introduction to Buddhist Philosophy*, 195.
49. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. and Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 286.
50. Puqun Li, *A Guide to Asian Philosophy Classics* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2012), 261.
51. Cheng, *Shaolin wushu shi kao lue*, 164.
52. Wang, *Zhongguo zongjiao sixiang shi dagang*, 121.
53. Hongjun Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si* (Shaolin Monastery of Mount Song) (Zhengzhou: Henan Renmin Chuban She, 2001), 3.
54. Yang Jian was born in a Buddhist monastery named Banruo. He lived in the monastery for 13 years and was raised by a nun. He began to serve the imperial court from the age of 14 and rose steadily in the official ranks. He succeeded his father as Duke of Sui in 568 and was promoted to Cavalry General in 580.
55. Xiuping Hong, *Zhonghua Fojiao shi: Sui Tang Wudai fojiao shi juan* (History of Chinese Buddhism: Sui, Tang and five dynasties) (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chuban she, 2013), 26–27.
56. Yongtong Tang, *Sui Tang fojiao shi gao* (Buddhism in the Sui and Tang dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1982), 7.
57. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 728: 'Tang huang Song yue Shaolin si bei' (The Emperor Tang Songyue Shaolin Temple monument).
58. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 728: 'Tang huang Song yue Shaolin si bei'.
59. Aimin Ma, 'Yexia Foxue zhi sheng he Beichao, Suitang de Anyang fo si wuseng wuyi' (The rise of Buddhism in the Yexia region and the martial arts skills of monks in Buddhist monasteries in Anyang during the Northern dynasties, Sui and Tang era), *Anhui shifan daxue xuebao*, no. 5 (2009): 22–29.
60. Editorial Team of the 26 History of China, ed., *Zhonghua quan er shi liu shi* (The 26 history of China), vol. 4 (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao chuban she, 2002), 2934.
61. Wanbao Hu, *Datang kaiguo de zhengzhi zhenxiang* (Politics behind the establishment of the Tang dynasty) (Xian: Xi'an Jiaotong University Press, 2010), 94.
62. Prior to the Middle Tang era (766–835), Shaolin was governed by the head monk, the abbot and the Duweina monk. The head monk was placed at the

top of the hierarchy. From the mid-ninth century, the abbot took over from the head monk to become the leader of Shaolin Monastery.

63. Alan Cole, *Fathering Your Father: The Zen of Fabrication in Tang Buddhism* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2009), 92.
64. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 696: 'Datang Taizong wen wu sheng huangdi long qian jiao shu bei' (Letter by Emperor Taizhong of Tang).
65. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 728: 'Tang Wude si nian Shaolin si baigu zhuang ligong seng ming' (List of the thirteen Shaolin monks honoured in 621).
66. Paul Demieville, 'Buddhism and War', in *Buddhist Warfare*, ed. Michael K. Jerryson and Mark Juergensmeyer, trans. Michelle Kendall (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2010), 28.
67. Yucheng Wen, 'Shaolin si lishi gaishu' (A brief history of Shaolin), in *Shaolin wenhua yanjiu lunwen ji* (Shaolin culture studies essay collection), ed. Yongxin Shi and Yucheng Wen (Beijing: Religious Culture Publisher, 2001), 4.
68. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 728: 'Tang huang Song yue Shaolin si bei'.
69. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 728: 'Tang huang Song yue Shaolin si bei'.
70. Morris Rossabi, *A History of China* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 135.
71. Rossabi, *A History of China*, 135.
72. Rossabi, *A History of China*, 137.
73. Xianwen Zheng, *Tangdai lulling yanjiu* (Study on Tang dynasty legislations) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2004), 251.
74. Zheng, *Tangdai lulling yanjiu*, 251.
75. Rossabi, *A History of China*, 137.
76. Tang, *Sui Tang fojiao shi gao*, 2–3, 105–223.
77. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 728: 'Tang huang Song yue Shaolin si bei'.
78. Shi Hu, *Chan xue zhi gui*, 71, 150.
79. Shi Hu, *Hushi shuo Chan* (Hushi explains Chan) (Beijing: Dongfang chuban she, 1993), 207.
80. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan zhong*, 567–570.
81. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan zhong*, 567–570.
82. Wendi Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission: On an Early Chan History and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 147.
83. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 53.
84. The Snow Pavilion was rebuilt in 1512. The new pavilion (as shown in the figure) is based on the First Patriarch Pavilion constructed around the second half of the thirteenth century. See: Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 55.
85. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan zhong*, 807.
86. Hsing Yun Shi, *The Rabbit's Horn: A Commentary on the Platform Sūtra* (Los Angeles: Buddha's Light Publishing, 2010), 320.
87. Shi, *The Rabbit's Horn*, 319.
88. Zengwen Yang, *Tang Wudai Chanzong shi* (Chan Buddhism in the Tang and five dynasties era) (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1999), 70; Wen, *Shaolin fanggu*, 95.
89. Jintao Zhao, *Xishan sizu* (The fourth patriarch) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chuban she, 2003), 30.
90. *The Lankavatara Sūtra: Translation and Commentary*, 10.
91. *The Lankavatara Sūtra: Translation and Commentary*, 10.
92. The *Diamond Sūtra* contains a dialogue between Śākyamuni Buddha and Subhuti, one of the Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha. Its Chinese version is about 5,000 characters long and can be chanted in some 40 minutes.
93. Watson, 'The Diamond Sūtra', 78.

94. Hsing Yun Shi, *Four Insights for Finding Fulfilment: A Practical Guide to the Buddha's Diamond Sūtra*, trans. Robert Smitheram (Los Angeles: Buddha's Light Publishing, 2012), 89, 121, 143, 181.
95. Red Pine, *The Diamond Sūtra: The Perfection of Wisdom Text and Commentaries* (Berkeley: Counterpoint Press, 2009), 188.
96. Burton Watson, 'The Diamond Sūtra', *The Eastern Buddhist* 41, no. 1 (2010): 76.
97. Karyn L. Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 263.
98. Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 264.
99. Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 263.
100. Jiwen Du and Daoru Wei, *Zhongguo Chanzong tongshi* (A history of Chinese Chan Buddhism) (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chuban she, 2007), 214.
101. Phyllis G. Jestice, ed., *Holy People of the World: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 792.
102. Shi, *The Rabbit's Horn*, 272.
103. Also known as Dahui Puji (大慧普寂).
104. Also known as Dazhi Yifu (大智义福).
105. Johnston, ed., *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 614–615.
106. Watson, 'The Diamond Sūtra', 76.
107. Hong, *Zhonghua fojiao shi*, 269.
108. Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 264.
109. Johnston, ed., *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 615.
110. Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 263–264.
111. Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 264.
112. Runhua Hao, *Jianzhen pingzhuan* (Biography of Jianzhen) (Nanjing: Nanjing University Press, 2004), 22.
113. Qun Dong, *Huineng yu Zhongguo wenhua* (Huineng and Chinese culture) (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 2001), 21.
114. Yucheng Wen, *Shaolin fanggu* (Explore the history of Shaolin) (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chuban she, 1999), 102–103.
115. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 689: 'Tang zhong yue shamen Shi Faru chan shi xing Zhuang' (Biography of Chan Master Shi Faru).
116. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 59.
117. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 728: 'Tang huang Song yue Shaolin si bei'.
118. Wen, *Shaolin fanggu*, 23.
119. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 554.
120. 'Seven treasures' refers to treasures mentioned in Buddhist texts: gold, silver, aquamarine, crystal, conch shell or white coral, ruby and emerald.
121. 'Mani jewels' refers to various jewels mentioned in Buddhist literature.
122. Quanqi Shen, 'You Shaolin si' (A tour of Shaolin Monastery), cited in *Shaolin si yu Zhongguo wenhua* (Shaolin Monastery and Chinese culture), ed. Changqing Xu (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji Chubanshe, 1993), 201–202. English translation by author.
123. Shi, *Xu Gaoseng zhuan shang*, 95–135.
124. Antonio S. Cua, ed., *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), 814–815.
125. Dezong Zhang, *Xuanzang yanjiu* (Study of Xuanzang) (Zhengzhou: Henan University Press, 1997), 118.
126. Wen, 'Shaolin si lishi gaishu', 4.
127. The *Da Tang xiyu ji* (*Great Tang Records of the Western Regions*) is divided into 12 volumes. It records Xuanzang's journey to India and describes the geography, climate, culture, people and religion of more than 100 kingdoms along the journey. Ming dynasty novelist Wu Chengen (1505–1080)

composed *Journey to the West* (Xi you ji), one of China's four ancient classics, based on *Great Tang Records of the Western Regions*.
128. Tang, *Sui Tang Fojiao shi gao*, 20.
129. 'Da Tang dong du jingai sig u kai fa lin tan da de Fawan Chan shi ta min bing xu' (Inscriptions on the pagoda of Tang dynasty Chan Master Fawan), in *Songshan Shaolin si*, ed. Hongjun Lu (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chuban she, 2001), 356–357.
130. Yongxin Shi, 'Shaolin si yu zhongguo luzong fojiao' (Shaolin Monastery and Chinese Vinaya), *Dew of Chan* 45, no. 2 (2007): 35–36; Doucheng Du and Fuxue Yang, 'Songshan yu Luxue gaoseng' (Vinaya Masters and Mount Song), in *Shaolin xue lunwen ji* (Shaolin studies essay collection), ed. Yongxin Shi (Beijing: Religious Culture Publisher, 2015), 86.
131. Rong Li, 'The Biography of Master Yi Jing', *Dew of Chan* 45, no. 2 (2007): 63–71.
132. Also known as Fahua Xingjun (法华行钧).
133. 'Inscriptions on the Pagoda of the Former Abbot of the Shaolin Monastery Master Fahua Xingjun', in *Songshan Shaolin si*, ed. Hongjun Lu (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chuban she, 2001), 360–361.
134. Wenming Xu, 'Tang zhong qi zhi Wudai shi de liang jing Tiantaizong lue kao' (The development of the Two Sects of Tiantai from the Mid-Tang dynasty to the five dynasties period), *Religious Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 103–122.
135. Yongtong Tang, *Sui Tang Fojiao shi gao* (History of Buddhism in Sui and Tang dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2016), 189.
136. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 511.
137. Hong, *Zhonghua fojiao shi*, 456.
138. Fang Xiao, *Zhongguo wenhua eshi* (Disasters of Chinese culture) (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chuban she, 1997), 25.
139. Weiqiao Jiang, *Zhongguo fojiao shi* (The history of Chinese Buddhism) (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2010), 129.

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3 The Song, Jin and Yuan Dynasties

Travelling through thousands of mountains and rivers,
He introduced Chan to Emperor Wu of Liang.
The emperor failed to fully comprehend his teachings,
So he crossed the Yangtze river by reed.
After facing the wall for nine years, he transmitted the dharma to Huike.
One flower with five leaves, Chan bloomed after him.[1]
He left with one shoe.[2]
Did you know? He travelled so deep into the Chan world that he forgot the way home.[3]

Huang Tingjian (1045–1105)[4]

The Tang dynasty marked the zenith of the social, cultural, political and economic development of China in the first millennium AD. However, from the mid-eighth century, the Tang golden age was undermined by a disorderly government and power struggles between the imperial court and regional military governors. Starting with the An-Shi Rebellion of 755–763, which greatly weakened central government control over various regions of the empire, the eighth and ninth centuries saw the gradual decline of the Tang dynasty.[5]

From the mid-ninth century, impoverished peasants and merchants whose lives had been torn apart by wars and political unrest launched rebellions against Tang rule. In 860, 868 and 874, three major uprisings took place in Zhejiang, Guangxi and Henan provinces, followed by the larger-scale Huang Chao Rebellion (874–884), which swept through the empire.[6] Although these rebellions were eventually quashed by the government, they rocked the foundations of imperial power and spelled the beginning of the collapse of the Tang dynasty.[7] The empire was finally dissolved in 907 when a military governor, Zhu Wen (852–912), took the throne and established the Later Liang dynasty (907–923). Thereafter, China experienced half a century of unrest and disunity. Five dynasties rose in succession in northern China, while ten small kingdoms were established in the south.[8]

By the mid-tenth century, most Tang dynasty territory, especially in the centre, east and south, had been occupied by the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126) established by Zhao Kuangyin (939–997), a military governor of the Later Zhou (951–960). Other parts of the country were ruled by two smaller empires: the Khitan Liao dynasty (907–1125) in the northeast and the Tangut Western Xia dynasty (1038–1227) in the northwest.[9] The Song signed treaties with the Liao and Western Xia in 1005 and 1044 respectively to prevent conflicts and promote peace.[10]

The Rise of Chan Buddhism

The Song rulers, having learned the lessons of the failure of the Tang, imposed civilian control over the military. Political, military and financial agencies were placed under the direct control of the imperial court. Centralised power was shared by several government branches in order to maintain balance.[11] The ruling elites also sought to improve the bureaucratic system with new forms of religion and philosophy. Confucianism developed to a new level and became engaged with metaphysics.[12] Both Buddhism and Daoism received support from the imperial court. Buddhist and Daoist doctrines were incorporated into the framework of Confucianism. The Five Precepts of Buddhism (not killing, not stealing, not misusing sex, not lying and not consuming intoxicants) were amalgamated into the Five Constant Virtues of Confucianism (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and fidelity). Daoism was used to explain the inherent principle of the universal order in neo-Confucianism. This was called the Unity of the Three Teachings and laid the theoretical foundation for the following dynasties' social-ethical values and state bureaucratic systems.

Soon after the establishment of the Song dynasty, Emperor Taizu Zhao Kuangyin made efforts to revive Buddhism to reinforce the legitimacy of the imperial house. In 960, he issued ordination certificates to 8,000 Buddhist candidates to authenticate them as legitimate Buddhist monks/nuns. Sponsored by the government, 157 monks were sent to India to study Buddhism. A government bureau was set up to manage the translation and printing of Buddhist scriptures. The *Great Treasury Scriptures*, or the *Chinese Buddhist Canon* (Da Zang Jing), was compiled and printed.[13]

Emperor Taizu's supportive stance toward Buddhism was adopted by his successors. By 1021, the number of Buddhist monasteries in the Song territory totalled 40,000, accommodating over 450,000 monks and nuns.[14]

A distinctive feature of the development of Buddhism during the Song dynasty was the dominance of the Chan sect.[15] After more than three centuries of development, Huineng's southern school, now regarded as the Chan orthodoxy, had become more closely aligned with the Confucian and Daoist ideologies. Of the five houses of the southern Chan sect,

the Linji school, Yunmen school and Caodong school became the most influential.[16]

The Linji school was founded by Chan Master Yixuan (?–867) from Linji Monastery in the Zheng region of Hebei Province during the late Tang dynasty era.[17] It was based on the doctrine of One Mind: 'True Nature is the Mind; the Mind is the Buddha; the Buddha is the Dharma.'[18] According to this doctrine, 'There is no distinction between the Buddha and sentient things, but that sentient beings are attached to forms and so seek externally for Buddhahood.'[19]

Linji masters' methods of teaching were associated with harsh encounters with students, including shouting and beating with sticks and seemingly nonsensical answers to students' questions as means to evoke a direct, experiential understanding or awakening.[20] The teaching and practice were also based on the study of 'gongan' (public case or precedent) collections which recorded the masters' discourses, sayings and stories. Major works of this kind include *Blue Cliff Record* (Biyan Lu) by Shi Keqin (1063–1135)[21] and *Gateless Gate* (Wumen Guan) by Shi Huikai (1183–1260).[22] Students were required to '[place] themselves into the stories and [attempt] to see directly the mind of the characters depicted therein.'[23] Similarly to the strategic shouts and hits, the paradoxical questions and responses in these gongan collections were designed to 'expose one to the unfamiliar and strange in order to allow sudden enlightenment to occur through a moment of uncanniness or shock.'[24]

The Yunmen school was created by Shi Wenyan (862–949), founder of Yunmen Monastery in Shaoguan, Guangdong Province.[25] Wenyan's teaching was primarily based on the philosophy of 'Three Propositions of Yunmen' (Yunmen San Ju): 1. permeating and covering the whole cosmic order; 2. cutting off once and for all the flow of all streams; 3. following the waves and keeping up with the currents.[26] Wenyan was also 'famous for his "one-word barriers" or "one-word checkpoints" (Yi Zi Guan), in which he responded to his students' questions by using only a single word.'[27] Yunmen Chan was favoured by Northern Song upper-class officials and Confucian scholars and flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries, during which Yunmen masters made great contributions to the development of gongan literature and Chan classics. The school declined in the twelfth century and was later absorbed into the Linji school.[28]

The Caodong school was founded by Shi Liangjie (807–869) in Mount Xinfeng, Yifeng County, Jiangxi Province.[29] 'Caodong' is a union of the first characters of the sixth patriarch Huineng's honorific name Caoxi (Cao Creek) and Liangjie's honorific name Dongshan (Mount Dong), though some historians have asserted that 'Cao' refers to the honorific name of Liangjie's prime disciple Benji (840–901),[30] Caoshan (Mount Cao).

The Caodong school centred on the doctrine of the Five Ranks, a form of dialectical analysis that sought to explain the Buddhist doctrine of

the two truths: 'relative/commonsensical truths' and 'absolute/ultimate truths.' This doctrine was also used to illustrate the process of Chan practice and different stages of enlightenment or awakening. It consisted of two sets of ranks: the Five Ranks of the Relative and Absolute, and the Five Ranks of Merit.[31]

The Five Ranks of the Relative and Absolute are:

The Relative within the Absolute	正中偏
The Absolute within the Relative	偏中正
Coming from within the Absolute	正中来
Arrival at Mutual Integration	偏中至
Unity Attained	兼中到

'Absolute' refers to essence, emptiness and principle. 'Relative' refers to function, form and being. 'The Relative within the Absolute' means one focuses on form. 'The Absolute within the Relative' means one starts to understand the principle behind form. 'Coming from within the Absolute' means all phenomena arise following cause and reason. 'Arrival at Mutual Integration' means form integrates and coincides with principle. 'Unity Attained' means the fusion of principle and being, the unity of absolute and relative, a status of being neither defined nor undefined. This is complete enlightenment, or Buddhahood.[32]

The Five Ranks of Merit are: 1. orientation; 2. service (or dedication and devotion); 3. merit (or achievement); 4. merit in common (using one's achievement to serve the common people); 5. merit upon merit (achieving a higher level of merit and attaining Buddhahood).

The doctrine was further developed by Benji into the Five Ranks of Lord and Vassal and the Five Ranks of Prince and Minister:[33]

The Lord	Prince
The	Vassal Minister
Lord Faces the Vassal	Prince Looking at Minister
Vassal Faces the Lord	Minister Returning to Prince
Unity of Lord and Vassal	Prince and Minister in Harmony

In terms of methods of practice, the Caodong school followed the notion of the inherency of Buddhahood, which suggests that 'since enlightenment is the mind's natural state, nothing needs to be done in order to attain enlightenment other than letting go of all striving for the state.'[34] From the early twelfth century, the method of Silent Illumination (Mozhao Chan)[35] was employed by Caodong Chan master Shi Zhengjue (1091–1157)[36] to help practitioners to maintain 'original purity of the mind by simply sitting silently in meditation.'[37] Although the Caodong lineage's primary concerns were the Five Ranks doctrine and Silent Illumination meditation, like the Linji school, some Caodong masters also employed gongan collections to assist teaching and training.

The Linji lineage objected to the Caodong school's practice of Silent Illumination because of its inertness and quietude, while the Caodong lineage criticised the Linji lineage for its emphasis on a goal-oriented practice which, in the eyes of the Caodong followers, violated the basic southern Chan principle that a Buddha nature already pervades all sentient beings.[38] However, in general, both the Caodong and Linji schools of Chan denied the pure-phenomenal world dualism maintained by many Buddhist sects and did not shun the phenomenal world.[39] They emphasised not only the wordless realisation of vacuous non-being but also engaged with the affairs of the world and advocated the idea that mental illumination can happen in any place and at any time.[40] According to this philosophy, an 'enlightened person engages in ordinary daily activities, just like everyone, but his/her acts have a different significance from those of ordinary people.'[41]

These doctrines were favoured by the ruling elite class, especially the Confucian scholar-bureaucrats seeking balance between the material, spiritual and social aspects of life.[42] Therefore, encouraged and supported by the Song court, Chan Buddhism developed rapidly.[43] A large number of monasteries abandoned Vinaya, another popular form of Buddhism during the Tang dynasty, and began advocating Chan teachings.[44]

During this period, the publication and circulation of texts on the history of Chan Buddhism, regulations, records and Chan masters' biographies, discourses and ideas, such as *Pure Rules of Chan Monasteries* (Chanyuan Qinggui),[45] *Platform Sutra* (Tan Jing),[46] *Record of Linji* (Linji Lu),[47] *Record of the Mirror of Orthodoxy* (Zongjing Lu)[48] and *Lamp Records* (Deng Lu),[49] further facilitated the development of Chan.[50]

By the eleventh century, Chan had become the dominant form of Buddhism in China, with the Linji school as the most popular sect. It further developed into the Yangqi branch, headed by Shi Fanghui (992–1049),[51] and the Huanglong branch, led by Shi Huinan (1002–1069).[52]

The Caodong lineage was mainly carried on by Daoying (848–902)[53] and his successors (see Figure 3.1).[54] Thanks to the efforts of Shi Yiqing (1032–1083),[55] Shi Daokai (1042–1118),[56] Shi Zichun (1054–1119)[57] and Shi Zijue (1102–1117),[58] the Caodong school established itself as the second most popular Chan branch after the Linji school.[59]

Transforming into the Centre of Caodong Chan

Although Shaolin had earned a reputation as the cradle of Chan during the Sui and Tang dynasties, the monastery developed into a centre of Buddhist studies that accommodated Dharma Masters from various schools of Buddhism. Chan, Vinaya and Tiantai were simultaneously promoted in the monastery. From the late eleventh century, in the context of the rise of Chan as the dominant form of monasticism, Shaolin started to adopt the Caodong school of Chan. In this period, Caodong Chan master Yiqing and his dharma heir Daokai were invited to teach at Shaolin. In

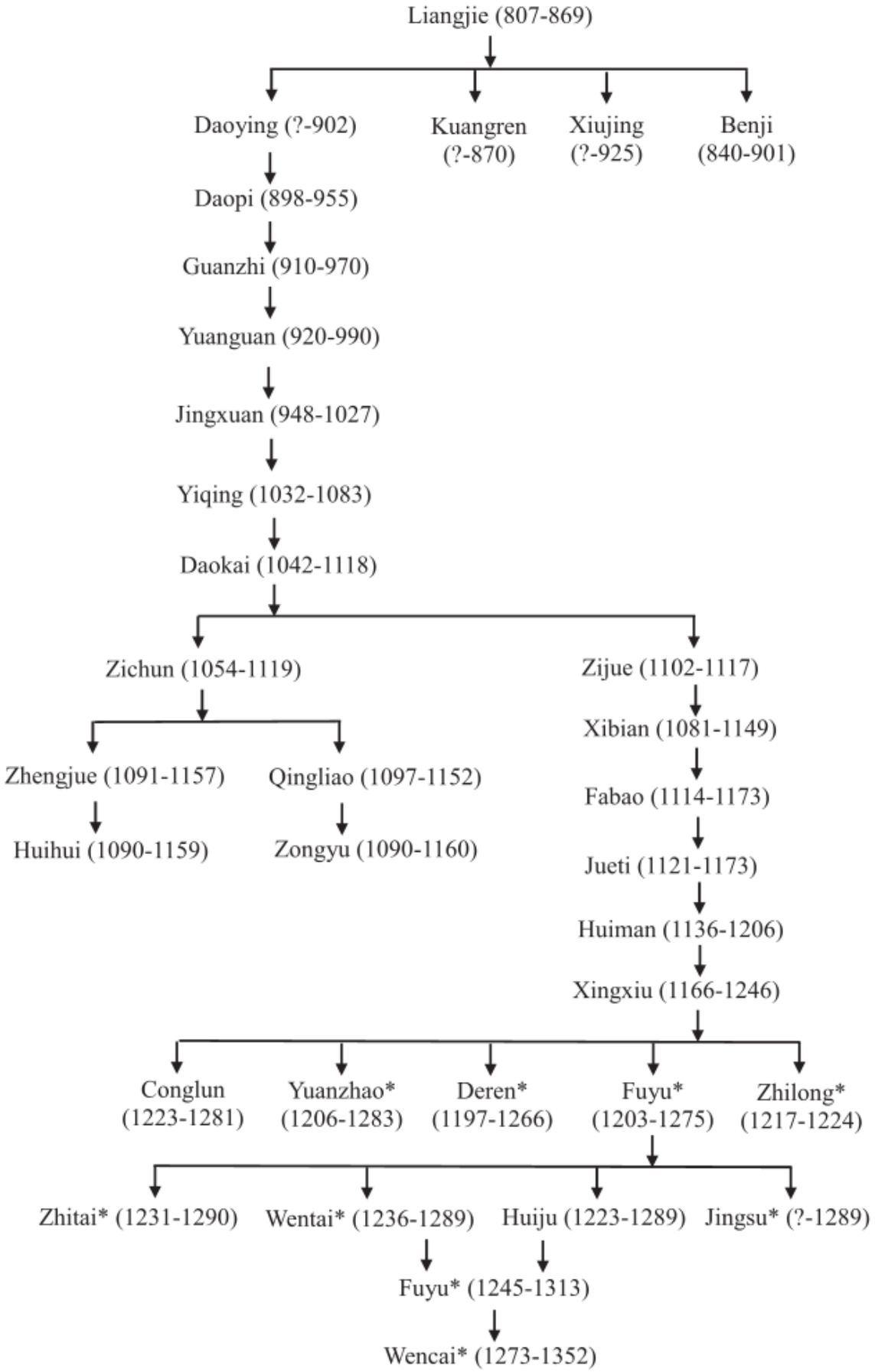

Figure 3.1 The Lineage of the Caodong School of Chan Buddhism from the Tang Dynasty to the Yuan Dynasty.

Note: * denotes Shaolin abbot.

Source: Chart created by author.

1089, Yiqing's disciple Shi Baoen (1058–1111)[60] joined Shaolin and promoted the Caodong school in the monastery for five years.[61] It was also during this period that two major temples of Shaolin, the First Patriarch Temple[62] and the Second Patriarch Temple,[63] were built to commemorate Bodhidharma and his dharma heir Huike, and to reinforce Shaolin's status and influence in the Buddhist world (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3).[64]

A poem composed by early Song scholar Li Yunzhong reflects the development of Chan Buddhism in this period and highlights the importance of Shaolin as the cradle of Chan:

> Songyun came across Bodhidharma on Mont Congling,
> Travelling with one shoe.
> Bodhidharma developed Chan at Mount Song,
> And transmitted the dharma to Huike, who cut off his arm in the snow.
> He created the water wells with his khakkhara;[65]
> The five Chan sects are blooming like flowers.
> The wall contemplation reflects Bodhidharma's spirit and wisdom,
> And the light of his Dharmakāya[66] shines from the green mountain.[67]

In general, up until the early twelfth century, the Northern Song enjoyed peace and prosperity. However, a major threat to stability arose when the Liao empire was overthrown by a nomadic tribe called the Jurchen in late 1115. The Jurchen established the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) and

Figure 3.2 The First Patriarch Temple.

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

Figure 3.3 The Second Patriarch Temple.

Source: © Xin Wang/Microfotos.

declared war against the Song in 1125. In less than two years, the Jin army advanced to central China and besieged the Song capital city, Kaifeng, in early 1126. In January 1127, Kaifeng was captured by the Jin army. Emperor Huizong (1082–1135) and his son Emperor Qinzong (1100–1161) were both imprisoned. Following the fall of the capital, the imperial court retreated to Shangqiu and established the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279).[68] The central and northern parts of the country fell into the hands of the Jurchen.[69]

After conquering the Northern Song, the Jin rulers adopted the Han bureaucratic and legal system. The Jin court issued policies and decrees to keep their own culture, identity and traditions alive. However, many Jin emperors, scholars and officials immersed themselves in Han culture, literature and philosophy. The Jurchen population gradually merged with the Han majority and adopted Han language, names and costumes.[70]

Religion played an important role in this inter-ethnic and intercultural integration. Although Shamanism had been the dominant religion among the Jurchen people, the Jin court supported and promoted Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism.[71] Over the course of time, a large portion of the Jurchen population, including both the upper ruling class and civilians, converted to Buddhism.

In this context, Chan Buddhism continued to flourish and Shaolin Monastery developed accordingly. In 1140, Caodong master Shi Fahe (1079–1157)[72] was invited to join Shaolin by the Governor of Luoyang and was appointed abbot.[73] After serving at Shaolin for two years, he was summoned by the Jin court to Yanjing (today's Beijing), the capital of the Jin dynasty, and served as abbot of Puzhao Monastery for nine years. Fahe returned to Shaolin during his later years. After he passed away in 1157, the Shaolin monks erected a pagoda to commemorate him.[74]

Fahe's prime disciple, Shi Zuduan (1115–1167), served as abbot of Shaolin between 1145 and 1160. He was then invited by the governor of Kaifeng to be abbot of Fayun Monastery in Kaifeng. Like his master Fahe, Zuduan returned to Shaolin and died there in 1167.[75] Fahe and Zuduan's service in Shaolin symbolised the consolidation of the Caodong school at the monastery.

During the Jin dynasty, the other popular Chan sect, the Linji school, also had a presence in Shaolin. This was reflected by the Jin authorities' appointment of Linji master Shi Jiaoheng (1150–1219)[76] as abbot of Shaolin in 1209. Jiaoheng joined Chongjue Monastery in Jining at the age of seven. He travelled to Zhengzhou in 1164 and studied Linji Chan in Puzhao Monastery.[77] His teachings became so famous that he was invited by Jiagu Qingcheng (1133–1202), Second Prime Minister of the imperial court, to Yanjing to head Tantuo Monastery. In 1205, he was appointed abbot of the Grand Monastery of Qingshou in Yanjing by Emperor Zhangzong of Jin (1168–1208).[78] He served as abbot of Shaolin between 1209 and 1214 and promoted Linji Chan teachings in the Mount Song region.[79] His disciple Shi Hongxiang (1161–1224) succeeded him as abbot of Shaolin in the late 1210s.[80]

As a renowned centre of Buddhist studies, Shaolin Monastery played its part in the Unity of the Three Teachings. This is illustrated by a Shaolin stele erected in 1209, entitled 'Saints of the Three Teachings' (see Figure 3.4). Under the heading of 'Long Live the Emperor,' inscriptions on the stele read as follows:

> Emperor Suzong of Tang praised: Zhongni of Lu[81] is the founder of Confucianism; Zhongni's teacher is Laozi, who is as mysterious as a dragon.[82] Laozi studied Buddha's teachings and he achieved the status of Wuwei.[83] They bowed to the Buddha because they achieved the highest level of enlightenment. They are all our teachers.[84]

From the early thirteenth century, the geopolitical map of China and Asia was reordered. In 1206, Genghis Khan (1162–1227) unified the nomadic tribes of the Mongolian plateau and formed the Mongol empire. In the following three decades, the mighty Mongol army expanded in all directions and conquered the Jin and Western Xia dynasties in northern China, Tibet and Khara Khitai in the west, and the Dali kingdom in the

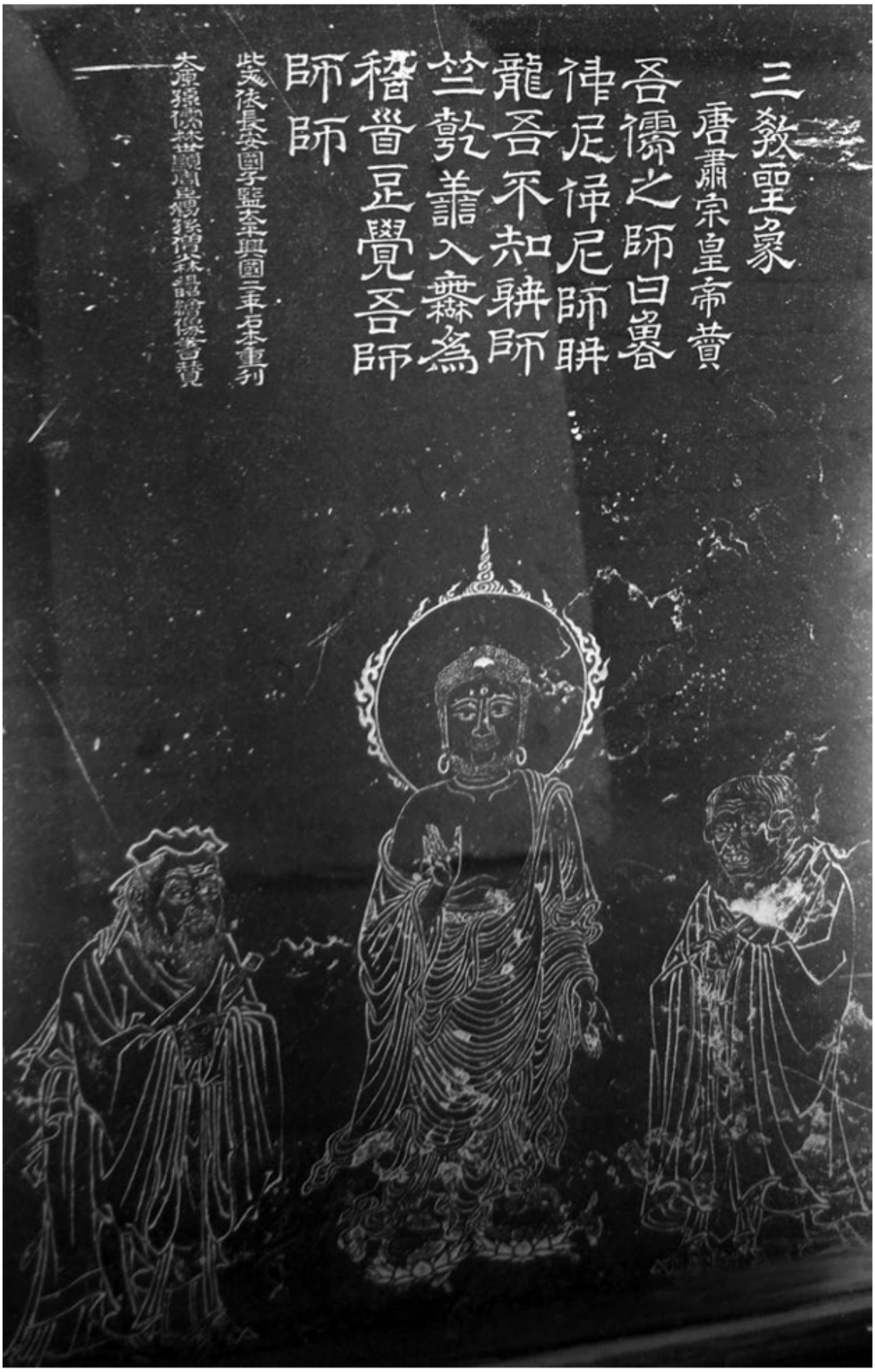

Figure 3.4 The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1209: 'Saints of the Three Teachings.' From Left to Right: Laozi, Shakyamuni Buddha, Confucius.

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

southwest. The Mongol army also advanced into Central Asia and Eastern Europe.[85]

In 1235, the Mongols invaded the Southern Song. The war lasted for more than three decades. In 1271, Kublai Khan (1215–1294), the fifth Great Khan of the Mongol empire, established the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Five years later, in 1276, the Mongols crushed the major Song resistance forces in the Battle of Wuhu and put an end to the Song dynasty in 1279.

The Yuan dynasty ended the divided rule that had lasted for more than three centuries. Kublai Khan and his successors made Yanjing (Dadu) the capital city of the empire and adopted Han government institutions. The Mongols dominated the central government and the military and were the privileged class at the top of the social hierarchy, followed by Central Asian Muslims. The Jurchen and Han Chinese in the north were next, while Han Chinese in the south were at the bottom.[86]

In terms of religious policy, the Mongol rulers tolerated most of the mainstream religions. Similar to the Jurchen, for centuries the Mongols' social, cultural and tribal lives were tied to Shamanism. Since the rise of the Mongol empire, especially during and after the Mongol conquest of Tibet in the 1240s, the Mongols had become increasingly influenced by Buddhism.[87] It was eventually adopted as the empire's state religion by Kublai Khan, who converted to Buddhism around 1253.[88]

Prior to the Yuan dynasty, religious affairs were jointly governed by officials in the Ministry of Rites[89] and monk officials/commissioners from the Department of the Commissioners for Merit and Virtue.[90] In 1247, the General Administration of Buddhist Affairs was established by the Mongol imperial court to manage all Buddhist affairs and govern all monks of various ethnicities.[91] Shi Yinjian (1202–1257),[92] an eminent dharma heir of the Linji lineage of Chan and one of the State Preceptors,[93] was appointed head of this institution by Güyük Khan (1206–1248), the third Great Khan of the Mongol empire.[94]

After Kublai Khan took the throne in 1260, further reforms were carried out in the religious sphere. In addition to the General Administration of Buddhist Affairs, the imperial court established the Central Administrative Council in 1264 to manage Buddhist monks, supervise monasteries/temples and govern the political and military affairs of Tibet.[95] Tibetan monk Drogön Chögyal Phagpa (1235–1280), who was made State Preceptor by Kublai in 1260, was appointed head of this governing body.[96] He was then made the first and the sole Imperial Preceptor in 1270, reflecting the dominance of Buddhism in the Mongol empire.[97]

Surprisingly enough, the Mongol-Jin War and the Mongol conquest of the Song had a limited negative impact on Buddhism. In the early thirteenth century, Chan Master Shi Xingxiu (1166–1246),[98] an eminent dharma heir of the Caodong lineage, rose to become a leading figure in the religious sphere. He was respected by both Emperor Zhangzong of

Jin and Ögedei Khan (1186–1241), the second Great Khan of the Mongol empire.[99] After the Mongol army captured Yanjing in 1215, Xingxiu decided to stay, as he believed Buddhism could be a common faith shared by the Han and the Mongols. In 1230, Ögedei Khan awarded Xingxiu a Buddha Tooth Relic and honoured him with the title of Senior Master Wansong (Wansong Laoren).[100] Headed by Xingxiu, leading Buddhist and Daoist masters in Yanjing were received in 1232 by Ögedei Khan, who issued a decree to exempt monks and nuns from corvée duties, encouraging them to declare loyalty to the Mongol regime.[101]

Xingxiu also won admiration from Yelü Chucai (1190–1244), a famous Khitan advisor to Genghis Khan and Ögedei Khan who had studied Chan Buddhism with Xingxiu for three years. Encouraged by Yelü Chucai, Xingxiu compiled *Encouragement Hermitage Record* (Congrong An Lu), a gongan collection based on 100 verse comments on old cases composed by Caodong Master Shi Zhengjue (1091–1157).[102] Xingxiu added introductory words, prose commentaries and interlinear capping phrases to each case and verse. The collection ensured the survival and spread of Zhengjue's teachings and facilitated the development of Caodong Chan.[103]

Xinxiu's disciple Shi Zhilong (1217–1223)[104] served as abbot of Shaolin during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong of Jin (1163–1224) between 1215 and 1222.[105] Through his efforts, the Shaolin Pharmacy Bureau was established to provide medical services to monks and local residents.[106]

After the Mongols took over Yanjing, Shi Deren (1197–1266),[107] another disciple of Xingxiu, was made abbot of Shaolin around the late 1230s and served the monastery for nine years (see Figure 3.1). He then became abbot of the Grand Monastery of Longevity, a major Buddhist monastery and the centre of Caodong Chan in Yanjing. He was awarded the title of Grand Chan Master of Zhengzong Xingjiao by the imperial court.[108]

In 1245, Xingxiu's dharma heir Shi Fuyu (1203–1275)[109] was appointed abbot of Shaolin.[110] In the context of the Unity of the Three Teachings and influenced by Confucianism, Fuyu introduced a patriarchal clan system to Shaolin. Based on the Confucian clan rules of Chinese genealogy, he composed a poem from which the following generations of Shaolin monks could derive their names. The English translation of Fuyu's 70-character poem is as follows:

> Buddhist wisdom and Buddha's blessing may be received by intelligent followers,
> And the fundamental nature of the universe may be comprehended.
> With the rise of all forms of Buddhism around the world,
> We shall praise our common lord.
> As pure and vast as the sea,
> The Buddha dharma purifies our mind and soul.
> Buddhist virtues and values will be carried on forever,

And the vessels will stay solid and firm.
A clear mind will light the path of enlightenment,
And with a bright nature, we can discover the karmic reward.
Decency will lead to peace and fortune,
We should honestly devote ourselves to the salvation of the people.
Xueting [Fuyu], the mentor,
Will lead you on the road to enlightenment.[111]

Since the late Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420) era, following a reform carried out by the eminent monk Shi Daoan (312–385), every Buddhist monk/nun or disciple in China has been given a three-character dharma/clerical name. The first character, the surname, is always Shi (释) for Shakyamuni Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. The second two characters are the given name. The given name usually contains a specific meaning related to Buddhist ethics and virtues.[112]

The poem by Fuyu consists of 70 Chinese characters. The first character of the poem is 'Fu' (福), the first character of Fuyu's given name. It symbolises the first generation of Fuyu's Shaolin clan. The remaining 69 characters of the poem are the generational names (the first character of the given name) of future Shaolin generations. For example, the second character of the poem, 'Hui' (慧), is used as the generational name for Fuyu's dharma heir Shi Huiju (1223–1289), as well as his disciples Shi Huishan (1243–1308)[113] and Shi Huiqing (?–1318),[114] who started their monastic lives in Shaolin in the second half of the thirteenth century. To take another example, Shi Yongxin, the current abbot of Shaolin, is the twenty-third generation of Fuyu's Shaolin clan. His dharma/clerical name starts with the twenty-third character of the poem, 'Yong' (永), which literally means 'forever.' However, monks who had converted to Buddhism in other monasteries before joining Shaolin were exempt from this rule. For example, Fuyu's prime disciples Shi Jingsu (?–1289)[115] and Shi Wentai (1236–1289),[116] who successively served as abbot of Shaolin between 1261 and 1289, kept their original dharma/clerical names.

In 1253, Fuyu replaced Yinjian as Head of the General Administration of Buddhist Affairs, and was given the title of Head of Buddhist Affairs by Möngke Khan (1209–1259), the fourth Great Khan of the Mongol empire.[117] When Kublai Khan ascended the throne in 1260, Fuyu was summoned to Yanjing and made abbot of the Grand Monastery of Longevity. He was awarded the title of Grand Guangzong Dharma Master by the emperor and continued to serve as Head of Buddhist Affairs.[118] During his service at the Grand Monastery of Longevity, he continued to oversee the operation and development of Shaolin and founded five branches of Shaolin Monastery in Karakorum,[119] Yanji, Changan, Taiyuan and Luoyang, further boosting the influence of Shaolin.[120]

Fuyu retired to Shaolin in 1274 and died there in 1275.[121] In 1312, he was posthumously awarded the title of Grand Preceptor by Emperor

Renzong of Yuan and Buyantu Khan (1285–1320), the eighth Great Khan of the Mongol empire, for his contribution to Buddhism.[122]

As the dharma heir of the Caodong lineage, Fuyu helped Shaolin to firmly establish its position as the centre of Caodong Chan orthodoxy and one of the leading religious institutions in the Mongol empire.

After Fuyu left Shaolin in 1260, his colleagues and disciples continued to promote Caodong Chan in the Mount Song region. Shi Yuanzhao (1206–1283),[123] another prime disciple of Caodong Chan master Xingxiu, served as abbot of Shaolin between 1262 and 1267.[124] Yuanzhao was famous among high-ranking Yuan officials in the capital Yanjing and established close relationships with the First and Second Prime Ministers.

In 1267, Fuyu's disciple Jingsu was made abbot of Shaolin and appointed Head Commissioner for Ten Counties of Western Henan by the imperial court. In the early 1270s, he was made abbot of Lingquan Monastery in Shandong Province. Like his master Fuyu, he was invited by the government to Yanjing in 1281 to serve as abbot of the Grand Monastery of Longevity. After he passed away, three pagodas were erected in Shaolin, Lingquan and the Grand Monastery of Longevity to commemorate him.[125]

Shi Wentai (1236–1289) was the next Shaolin abbot after Jingsu. He served Shaolin for eight years and was awarded the title of State Preceptor by Kublai Khan. He was regarded as the dharma heir of Fuyu and the leader of Caodong Chan (see Figure 3.1).[126]

Benefiting from the social stability and economic development brought about by geographical and political unification under Mongol rule, and supported by royal patronage, Shaolin entered a new golden age. Many of the major buildings of the monastery were constructed during this period. These include the First Patriarch Pavilion built in the late thirteenth century, the Eastern Chan Hall and the Western Chan Hall constructed between 1318 and 1322, the Dharma Hall built in the 1340s, the Drum Tower erected between 1297 and 1300, the Bell Tower erected in 1345 and the Clan Hall constructed during the late Yuan era (see Figures 3.5 and 3.6).[127]

With support from the Yuan government, renovations were carried out to the monastery. This is illustrated in the Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1347, 'Rebuilding the Stele dedicated to the First Patriarch Bodhidharma':

> Our great Yuan dynasty, standing on a vast territory, is the largest and greatest of any empire in history. Its magnificence is incomparable. Its glory shines all over the world. It stands on the land of the Jin and Southern Song dynasties. It protects the beautiful mountains, the rivers and the achievements of previous dynasties. The great Empress Dowager of Yuan follows the ancestor's instructions and the Buddha's teachings. She advocates the idea that the world belongs to the people. She has put tremendous efforts into promoting the dharma as

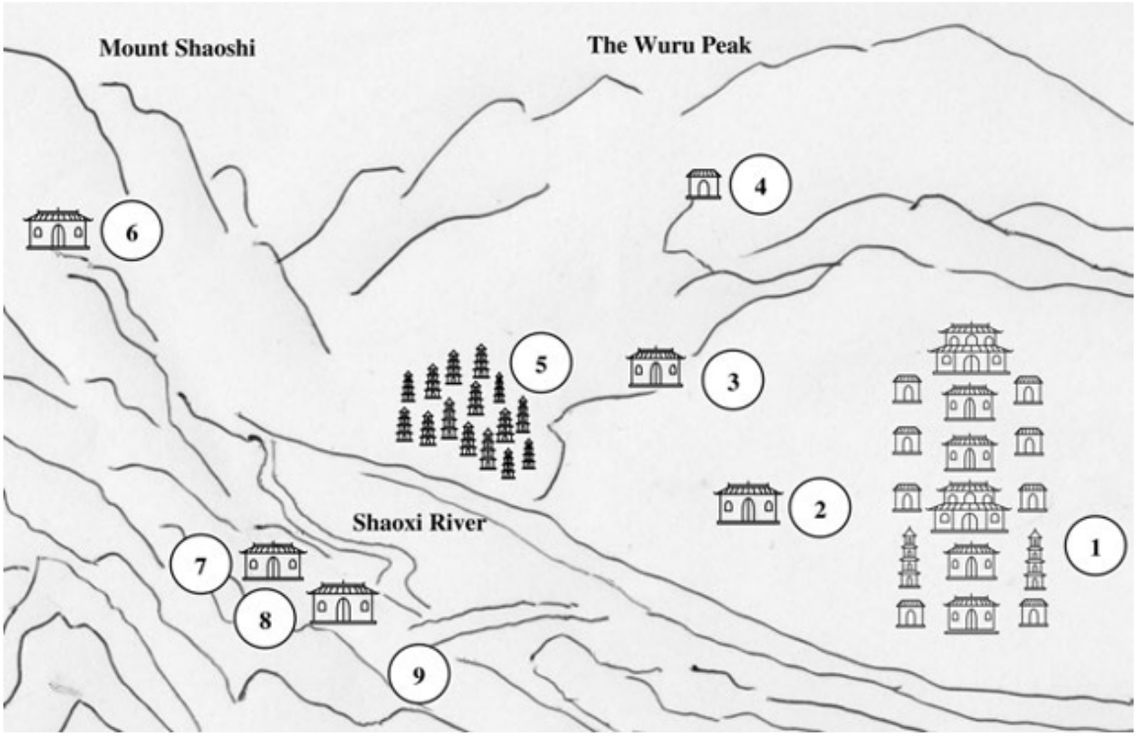

Figure 3.5 Map of Shaolin: 1. Shaolin Monastery; 2. The Clan Hall; 3. First Patriarch Temple; 4. Bodhidharma Cave; 5. The Pagoda Forest; 6. Second Patriarch Temple; 7. The South Garden; 8. Shi Fang Chan Temple; 9. Shaoyang Bridge.

Source: Map created by author.

> means of salvation for all humankind. The universe is a unity. Buddhist dharma shines equally on everyone. In this golden era of peace and prosperity, Master Bodhidharma's virtue and greatness have been revived. Thanks to the great Empress Dowager, the inscriptions for Bodhidharma by Emperor Wu of Liang have now been restored. What a magnificent achievement!

At the same time, Shaolin established and acquired affiliated monasteries around the country to promote Chan Buddhism. By 1299, Shaolin owned 13 affiliated monasteries,[128] and by the 1330s it had over 30. Famous affiliated monasteries included Kongxiang Monastery at Mount Xiong'er, Baoying Monastery at Mount Longmen and Tianqing Monastery in Luoyang.[129] The abbot of Shaolin oversaw the management of these institutions. Eminent monks were selected and sent by Shaolin to serve as abbots of the affiliated monasteries.[130]

In addition to the affiliated monasteries, subsidiary temples based on the clan system invented by Fuyu began to emerge.[131] These temples were built around Shaolin Monastery and called the Lineage House (Mentou Fang). Each temple represented a lineage created by a Chan master from Shaolin and normally accommodated two to three generations of monks

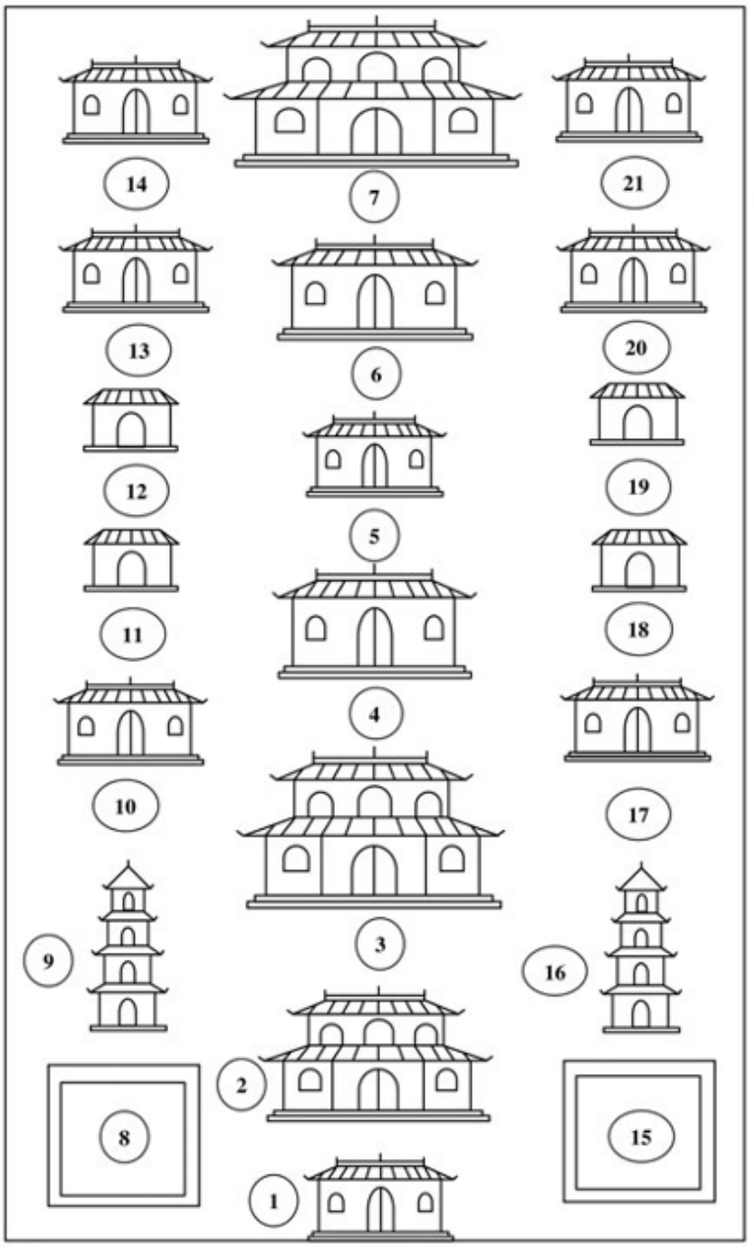

Figure 3.6 Map of Shaolin Monastery.

Source: Map created by author.

and lay disciples. These subsidiary temples facilitated the further development of Shaolin.

By the late Yuan dynasty, Shaolin accommodated more than 200 monks (excluding branch temples and affiliated monasteries).[132] It drew followers not only from China but also from Japan, Korea and other Asian countries. Japanese monk Kogen Shogen (1295–1364) is a prime example. Shogen arrived in China in 1327. After visiting major Buddhist monasteries in Fujian, Zhejiang, Hebei, Yanjing, Jiangxi and Hubei, he settled down in Shaolin around 1329 and became a disciple of Abbot Shi Yirang (1284–1340).[133] He served as secretary of Shaolin for years and was later

made head monk of the monastery. After Yirang passed away, Shogen composed a stele inscription entitled 'Chan Master Xian's Biography' for him.[134] He left China around 1347 and continued to promote Chan Buddhism in Japan.[135]

Kinnara King and the Red Turbans

In general, after the establishment of the Yuan dynasty in 1271, China experienced more than two decades of peace and prosperity under Kublai Khan's rule. However, the Yuan dynasty began to decline in the late thirteenth century. Power struggles between Kublai's successors resulted in political unrest and failure at the central level. The court was crippled by disputes, purges and assassinations. Revenue was drained by costly military expansions, which placed a heavy burden on the people and generated resentment among the Han population. Consequently, various armed religious and military groups rose to fight for power and territory. Banditry and rebellion again spread across the country.[136]

Shaolin, like many other institutions that owned land and wealth, was threatened by rebels and bandits. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1322, 'Biography of Grand Dharma Master Qinggong,' indicates that the Shaolin monks had to defend the monastery against bandits, and that some were selected to serve as monk officials of the Yuan government:

> In 1265, Shaolin was threatened by bandits and rebels. The Shaolin monks were occupied with defending the monastery. [Therefore,] Fawang Monastery was closed down and fell into decay.[137] Xueting[138] invited Shaolin's Abbot Fuan[139] to manage the Fawang Monastery. [Huiqing] was appointed vice-abbot [of Shaolin]. . . . In 1267, Zuan [Jingsu] was made abbot of Shaolin and was appointed Head Commissioner for Ten Counties. [Huiqing] became Zuan's assistant. In 1272, he was promoted to deputy abbot. In 1273, he was promoted to Regional Commissioner.[140]

The Yuan court provided protection for Shaolin. The inscriptions on Shaolin abbot Huishan's pagoda, erected in 1308, show that Huishan submitted applications to the Chancellery requesting government protection and support for Shaolin and its affiliated monasteries. The applications were approved:

> In 1296 and 1308, Master Huishan submitted applications to the Chancellery in person. These applications were reviewed and approved by the Emperor, the Crown Prince, the Imperial Preceptor and the Head of Buddhist Affairs. The General Administration of Buddhist Affairs announced that the government would provide protection and support for: Shaolin at Mount Song, the birthplace of Chan, [and

> its affiliated monasteries]: Kongxiang Monastery at Mount Xionger; Baoying Monastery at Mount Longmen; Tianqing Monastery in Luoyang; Longtan Monastery and Shanhu Monastery in Dengfeng; Pufu Monastery in Guozhou; Anguo Monastery in Shuibei; Puzhao Monastery in Junzhou; Weimo Chan Monastery, Yaowang Monastery and Guanyin Yuan Monastery in Nanyang; and Shangsheng Monastery in Boxiang Valley in Lushi County. With the efforts of Master Huishan, these Buddhist monasteries were blessed and protected.[141]

From the 1330s, an increasing number of anti-Yuan revolts were launched across China. In the mid-1340s, floods and changes in the course of the Yellow River had a devastating effect on a large proportion of the population in central China. In 1351, the government recruited a labour force of 150,000 people to build channels to redirect the Yellow River and prevent further flooding. This imposition of corvée labour caused discontent and sparked a major rebellion. Led by White Lotus Society[142] leaders Liu Futong (1321–1363) and Han Shantong (?–1351), a rebel group called the Red Turbans rose in Anhui Province in 1351 and took control of Yingzhou County. Supported by the farmers assembled by the government to build the channels, the Red Turbans simultaneously advanced on central, northern and western China. Farmers in southern China also rose in rebellion. In 1368, Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398), a Red Turban leader from Anhui Province, proclaimed himself Emperor of the Ming dynasty (1271–1368). In the same year, the Ming army captured the Yuan capital of Dadu and put an end to Mongol rule.[143]

The Red Turban Rebellion lasted nearly two decades, and Shaolin was not lucky enough to survive the political turbulence. It was attacked by the rebels when Liu Futong's forces were advancing in northern China. This is recorded in the inscription on Master Jungong's pagoda, erected in 1373:

> In the late Zhizheng era,[144] the world fell into chaos. The monks failed to defend Shaolin. The monastery was lost to enemy hands.[145]

A Shaolin stele erected by early Ming official Shan Xizhi describes the devastating scene at the monastery after the rebel attack:

> In the late Zhizheng era, the famous cradle of Chan was attacked and torched [by the Red Turbans]. Only half of the buildings in the monastery survived. The rebels took the gold from the surface of the Buddha statues and broke the statues, as they believed there was treasure inside. How foolish and ignorant they are![146]

This small battle was later developed into a legend to cultivate a sense of wonder and fantasy around Shaolin. According to the legend, when

the Red Turbans attacked the monastery, the monks resisted and held the rebels off. A monk who worked in the kitchen came to assist, miraculously transforming himself into a giant and using a staff to scare away the rebels. He was honoured by the Shaolin monks as Kinnara King and was worshipped as the dharma guardian—Narayana—of the monastery.[147]

By the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the legend had developed into a more detailed version, and Kinnara Hall was built in Shaolin to commemorate the mysterious kitchen worker (see Figure 3.7). In 1517, a stele was erected to recount his legend. The stele reviews the history of Buddhism in China and explains the role of Narayana as the protector of Buddhist monasteries:

> Shakyamuni Buddha was born in the 24th year of the King Zhao of Zhou era [1027 BC]. During Emperor Ming of Han's reign [AD 58–75], Buddhism was introduced to China. White Horse Monastery, the first Buddhist monastery in China, was established in Luoyang.
>
> Every Buddhist monastery in China is protected by a dharma guardian. According to the Lamp Records, during the mid-Kaihuang era (581–600) of the Sui dynasty, Chan Master Zhiyi[148] from Mount Tiantai lived at Mount Yuquan in Jinzhou. A spirit came to visit and informed Zhiyu that he was General Guan Yu of the state of Shu Han, and that the mountain had been awarded to him by the Buddha for his outstanding military service. He learned that Zhiyi wanted to build a Buddhist monastery on the mountain, and decided to provide support. Therefore, a magnificent monastery was built in seven days. Emperor Wen of Sui heard the story and honoured Guan Yu as the dharma guardian of Mount Yuquan.
>
> Shaolin Monastery was built during the Northern Wei dynasty. By the time of the Song dynasty, the Shaolin monks did not know who the dharma protector of Shaolin was, and we cannot find relevant information in the historical records. Descriptions of today's dharma guardian for Shaolin can be found in *Records of Jingzhu* (Jingzhu Ji), which says the Red Turbans, who rose in rebellion in Yingzhou on 21 May 1351,[149] reached Shaolin between 9 and 11 o'clock in the morning.[150] There was a saint in the monastery who had worked in the kitchen for years, a hardworking man in charge of cooking. His hair was dishevelled and he was always barefoot and shirtless. He rarely spoke and never showed emotion. Nobody knew his name. He cultivated himself through myriad practices.[151] When the Red Turbans were approaching the monastery, he stood on the peak of the mountain, holding a fire poker. The Red Turbans were scared away by him. After the event, he disappeared and nobody could find him. People realised that he had transformed into a Bodhisattva. The monks made him the dharma guardian of

Figure 3.7 Statue of Kinnara King, Kinnara Hall, Shaolin Monastery.

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2018.

> the monastery. This story was recorded by monk Ziyong. I have read *Records of Jingzhu* and have always wanted to write something to make this extraordinary story widely known, so I discussed it with fellow monks. Now Zhouzai and Hongran of Shaolin have invited masons to carve this stele to keep this record for future generations. The legend was told as above, finishing with the inscriptions below:
>
> The Buddhist monastery is located on the southern side of Mount Song. The wisdom of Buddhism shines here. The Bodhimanda was created by the founder of Chan [Bodhidharma]. The monastery is protected by Narayana. It is hard to praise Narayana in words. People who pray [in front of him] will be blessed. He watches everyone. Good and evil will eventually result in karma. Protecting the dharma and the people, he keeps the monastery prosperous. He observes everything and his eyes are like thunder and lightning. The monastery makes the empire greater. Blessed by the holy mountain, the monastery will remain secure forever. We shall pray to Narayana and make the dharma prevail.[152]

In the following centuries, the Kinnara King legend became linked to Shaolin kung fu. Shaolin monk Shi Tanzong, who was offered the position of Great General of the imperial army by Tang Emperor Taizong in the 620s, was remembered as the First Patriarch of Shaolin warrior/kung fu monks. Kinnara King was named the Second Patriarch.[153]

In the late Qing dynasty, murals were painted on the walls of the newly constructed Guanyin Hall/White Robe Hall to tell the legend of Kinnara King. The first part of the mural shows a group of warrior monks fighting the Red Turbans with staffs (see Figure 3.8). The second part shows Kinnara King standing on top of the mountain, scaring away enemies (see Figure 3.9).

Conclusion

From the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, China was ruled in turn by the Han, the Jurchen and the Mongols. Despite the changes of dynasty, the rulers of the Song, Jin and Yuan dynasties developed a tolerant attitude toward all religions and supported Buddhism.

The Song court made efforts to revive Buddhism. Thanks to support from the ruling class, especially the Confucian scholar-bureaucrats, Chan grew to become the dominant form of Buddhism in China, with the Caodong and Linji schools the most popular branches. Against this background, Shaolin began to transform from a centre of Buddhist studies into a leading Chan monastery. Chan masters were invited to teach at Shaolin and served as abbots of the monastery. New temples were built

Figure 3.8 Nineteenth-Century Shaolin Mural on the Southern Part of the Back Wall of the Guanyin Hall, Shaolin Monastery: 'Shaolin Monks Fighting the Red Turbans.'

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

to commemorate Bodhidharma, the First Patriarch of the Chinese Chan lineage, and his dharma heir Huike, and to reinforce Shaolin's leading position in Chan Buddhism.

After the Northern Song was conquered by the Jurchen, central and northern China fell under the rule of the Jin dynasty. The Jin rulers adopted Han bureaucratic and legal systems, and the Jurchen population gradually merged with the Han majority and adopted Han culture. Religion played an important role in this inter-ethnic and intercultural integration. A large portion of the Jurchen population converted to Buddhism. Chan continued to flourish, and Shaolin developed accordingly. During this period, the Caodong school of Chan established itself in the monastery.

Following the Mongol conquest of the Jin and Southern Song regimes, Buddhism was favoured and supported by Genghis Khan and his successors and was adopted as the Yuan dynasty's state religion by Kublai Khan. The General Administration of Buddhist Affairs was established by the imperial court to manage all Buddhist matters and to govern clergy of various ethnicities. Linji school dharma heir Shi Yinjian and Caodong school dharma heir Shi Fuyu served as successive heads of this institution.

Figure 3.9 Nineteenth-Century Shaolin Mural on the Southern Part of the Back Wall of the Guanyin Hall, Shaolin Monastery: 'Kinnara King Fighting the Red Turbans.'

Source: © Shian Ding/Microfotos.

Fuyu also served as abbot of Shaolin. Influenced by Confucianism, he introduced a patriarchal clan system to the monastery and founded five branches of Shaolin Monastery. His political and religious influence helped Shaolin to advance its status in the Buddhist world and establish its position as the centre of Caodong Chan orthodoxy. The monastery expanded in both size and reputation, attracting Buddhist followers from home and abroad.

When the Yuan dynasty began to fall apart in the 1350s, Shaolin was attacked by the rebels.[154] In order to create a sense of mystery and wonder around Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu, the attempted defence of the monastery by the Shaolin monks was later developed into the legend of Kinnara King.

Notes

1. 'One flower with five leaves' (Yi hua kai wu ye) refers to the five branches of Huineng's southern school of Chan Buddhism: Caodong, Linji, Fayan, Weiyang and Yunmen.
2. According to legendary stories recorded in the *Song Gaosengzhuan* (Biographies of eminent monks, Song edition) compiled by Shi Zanning (919–1002), the *Jingde chuandenglu* (Records of the Transmission of the Lamp) compiled by Shi Daoyuan between 1004 and 1007 and the *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin Monastery) compiled by Yefeng (1623–1687), after Bodhidharma died, he was buried in Dinglin Monastery at Mount Xionger near Luoyang. A few years later, a Northern Wei official named Songyun encountered Bodhidharma at Mount Congling. Bodhidharma was travelling with one shoe and claimed to be on the way to India. When the news reached Luoyang, monks in Kongxiang Monastery opened Bodhidharma's tomb and found only his clothes and one shoe in the coffin.
3. Tingjian Huang, 'Chu Zu' (The first patriarch), in *Xin Shaolin si zhi* (New records of Shaolin Monastery), ed. Dengfeng County Records Office (Beijing: China Tourism Press, 1988), 109. English translation by author.
4. Huang Tingjian is one of the most famous scholar-officials of the Northern Song dynasty. He is predominantly known for his calligraphy and poetry.
5. Simian Lu, *Zhongguo tongshi* (A history of China) (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 2009), 411–412.
6. Shouyi Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao* (An outline history of China) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chuban she, 1980), 132–133.
7. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 133.
8. Five dynasties: Later Liang (907–923), Later Tang (923–936), Later Jin (936–947), Later Han (947–951), Later Zhou (951–960). Ten Kingdoms: Wu (907–937), Wuyue (907–978), Min (909–945), Chu (907–951), Southern Han (907–971), Former Shu (907–925), Later Shu (934–965), Jingnan (924–963), Southern Tang (937–975), Northern Han (951–979).
9. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 156–157.
10. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 157–158.
11. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 152.
12. Morris Rossabi, *Blackwell History of the World: A History of China* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 182.
13. Venerable Master Xuanhua, *Shuijing huitian lu baihua jie* (Interpret *The water mirror*) (Taipei: Fajie Fojiao zonghui zhongwen chuban bu, 2005), 308.
14. Silong Li, 'Minsu Fojiao de xingcheng yu tezheng' (The formation of folk Buddhism and its characteristics), *Journal of Peking University*, no. 4 (1996): 57.
15. Qichao Liang, *Zhongguo jin san bai nian xueshu shi* (China's academic history in the past 300 years) (Beijing: Commercial Press, 2011), 9; Simian Lu, *Shixue sizhong* (Four schools of history) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chuban she, 1981), 200.
16. Daoru Wei, *Zhonghua Fojiao shi: Song Yuan Ming Qing fojiao shi juan* (History of Chinese Buddhism: Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties) (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chuban she, 2013), 45–48.
17. Jiwen Du and Daoru Wei, *Zhongguo Chanzong tongshi* (History of Chinese Chan Buddhism) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chuban she, 1993), 309.
18. Zeliang Liu, *Huangbo Chan zhexue sixiang yanjiu* (Study of Huangbo's Chan doctrine) (Wuhan: Hubei Renmin chuban she, 1999), 411.
19. Stephen Addiss, Stanley Lombardo and Judith Roitman, eds., *Zen Sourcebook: Traditional Documents from China, Korea, and Japan* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2008), 37.

20. Damien Keown and Charles S. Prebish, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 220; Jiwen Du and Daoru Wei, *Zhongguo Chanzong tongshi*, 311–312.
21. Also known as Yuanwu Keqin (圆悟克勤).
22. Also known as Wumen Huikai (无门慧开).
23. Keown and Prebish, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, 210.
24. Phyllis G. Jestice, ed., *Holy People of the World: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 376.
25. Also known as Yunmen Wenyan (云门文偃).
26. John Ch. Wu, *The Golden Age of Zen: Zen Masters of the T'Ang Dynasty* (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2003), 194.
27. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. and Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 1046.
28. Editorial office of Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua, *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua luncong* (Chinese culture and classics), vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 385; Buswell, Jr. and Lopez, Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 1047.
29. Also known as Dongshan Liangjie (洞山良价).
30. Also known as Caoshan Benji (曹山本寂).
31. Litian Fang, *Fang Litian jiangtan lu* (Fang Litian's collection) (Beijing: Jiuzhou chuban she, 2014), 100.
32. Fang, *Fang Litian jiangtan lu*, 101.
33. Litian Fang, *Zhongguo Fojiao sanlun* (On Chinese Buddhism) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chuban she, 2003), 207.
34. Buswell, Jr. and Lopez, Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 166.
35. Mozhao Chan.
36. Also known as Hongzhi Zhengjue (宏智正觉).
37. Buswell, Jr. and Lopez, Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 166.
38. Keown and Prebish, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, 210.
39. Karyn L. Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 265.
40. Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 266.
41. Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 264–265.
42. Du and Ru, *Zhongguo Chanzong tongshi*, 395; Wei, *Zhonghua Fojiao shi*, 16–17.
43. Wei, *Zhonghua Fojiao shi*, 2, 20–22.
44. Jianguang Wang, *Zhongguo Luzong tongshi* (History of Vinaya school in China) (Nanjing: Fenghuang chuban she, 2008), 357.
45. *Chanyuan Qinggui* (Pure rules of Chan monasteries) was compiled by Yunmen school master Shi Zongze in 1103. It codified Chan rules and set standard Chan rituals and meditation practice.
46. *Tanjing* (Platform Sutra) was compiled by Huineng's disciples between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. Based on Huineng's discourses, teachings and stories, the Platform Sutra greatly elevated the status of Huineng and facilitated the development of the southern school of Chan during the Song and Yuan dynasties. It became one of the most popular texts among the Chan communes in China and has been revered and studied for centuries.
47. *Linji Lu* (Record of Linji) was compiled by Linji school master Shi Huiran during the late ninth and early tenth centuries. The text centres on discourses, ideas and stories attributed to Chan master Shi Yixuan (?–866) or Linji Yixuan 临济义玄, founder of the Linji school of Chan. See: *The Record of Linji*, ed. Thomas Yuho Kirchner, trans. Ruth Fuller Sasaki (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
48. *Zongjinglu* (Record of the Mirror of Orthodoxy) was one of the most important texts for Buddhist scholars in the Song dynasty. It was composed

by Fayan school master Shi Yanshou (904–975) or Yongming Yanshou (永明延寿), and was published around 961. The book is 'predicated on revealing an implicit harmony between Chan and the Buddhist tradition.' It is 'an encyclopedic compilation drawing widely from Buddhist scriptural sources and relying heavily on Buddhist doctrines to present its message.' See: Albert Welter, *Yongming Yanshou's Conception of Chan in the Zongjing Lu: A Special Transmission within the Scriptures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 45.

49. *Lamp Records* includes: Records of the Transmission of the Lamp (*Jingde Chuandenglu*), compiled by Fayan school master Shi Daoyuan between 1004 and 1007; Tian Sheng Extensive Record of the Lamp (*Tiansheng Guangdeng Lu*), compiled around 1101 by Li Zunxun, a scholar-official who followed the Linji school; Jianzhong Jingguo Continuing Record of the Lamp (*Jianzhong Jingguo Xudeng Lu*), compiled by Yunmen school master Shi Weibai; Essentials of the Transmission of the Lamp (*Liandeng Huiyao*), compiled by Linji school master Shi Wuming around 1201–1204; Jia Tai General Record of the Lamp (*Jiatai Pudeng Lu*), compiled by Yunmen school master Shi Zhengshou around 1204; Compendium of Five Lamps (*Wudeng Huiyuan*), compiled by Linji school master Shi Puji during the Southern Song period (1127–1279).
50. Mu and Zhang, *Jianming Zhongguo zongjiao shi du ben*.
51. Also known as Yangqi Fanghui (杨岐方会).
52. Also known as Huanglong Huinan (黄龙慧南).
53. Also known as Yunju Daoying (云居道膺).
54. Daoru Wei, *Songdai Chanzong wenhua* (Chan Buddhism culture in the Song dynasty) (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chuaban she, 1993), 71.
55. Also known as Touzi Yiqing (投子义青).
56. Also known as Furong Daokai (芙蓉道楷).
57. Also known as Danxia Zichun (丹霞子淳).
58. Also known as Jingyin Zijue (净因自觉).
59. Chongjing Ou, *Zhongguo Dacheng Chan fojiao zhexue shi* (Philosophical history of Chinese Mahāyāna Chan) (Taipei: Showwe Press, 2010); Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 113.
60. Also known as Baoen (报恩).
61. Yucheng Wen, *Shaolin shihua* (Book on history of Shaolin Temple with illustrations) (Beijing: Gold Wall Press, 2009), 98.
62. The First Patriarch Temple is at the foot of Wuru Peak, 1.3 kilometre northwest of Shaolin Monastery.
63. The Second Patriarch Temple is on the top of Boyu Peak, 2.5 kilometre southwest of Shaolin Monastery, where, according to legends, Huike healed the wound to his arm.
64. Hongjun Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si* (Shaolin Monastery of Mount Song) (Zhengzhou: Henan Renmin chuban she, 2001), 169, 183.
65. Legend has it that Bodhidharma successively created four water wells with his Khakkhara on top of the Boyu Peak for Huike when he was recovering from the wound to his arm. Water from the first well tasted bitter, water from the second well tasted spicy and water from the third well tasted sour. Huike finished the water from the first three wells in 90 days without complaining. Bodhidharma then created the fourth well, and this time the water tasted sweet. The story symbolises that one has to put tremendous effort into Chan practice in order to achieve enlightenment.
66. According to Mahāyāna' Buddhism, Buddha has three bodies. The Dharmakāya (Fashen) is the 'true body' or 'absolute body' of the Buddha. It is beyond

existence and is the basis of reality. The Nirmanakaya (Yingshen) is Buddha's physical body, which manifests in time and space. The Sambhogakaya (Baoshen) is the 'body of enjoyment,' which experiences the fruits of enlightenment.

67. Yunzhong Li, 'Fengsi Songshan yesu Shaolin si' (The stay in Shaolin at Mount Song), in *Xin Shaolin si zhi* (New records of Shaolin Monastery), ed. Dengfeng County Records Office (Beijing: China Tourism Press, 1988), 108. English translation by author.
68. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 155, 159.
69. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 160.
70. Denis C. Twitchett, Herbert Franke and John King Fairbank, *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 6, Alien Regimes and Border States 907–1368* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 281.
71. Shengzuo Zhang, ed., *Zongjiao yu minzu* (Religion and ethnicity) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chuban she, 1997), 297.
72. Also known as Wuji Anzhu (无迹庵主) or Shanying Daoren (善应道人).
73. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 112.
74. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 112–113.
75. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 114.
76. Also known as Xuming Jiaoheng (虚明教亨).
77. Hui Li, 'Jinchao linji zong yuanliu kao' (The origins and development of the Linji school in the Jin dynasty), *Studies in World Religion* 127, no. 1 (2011): 23.
78. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 116.
79. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 514.
80. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 117.
81. Confucius (551–479 BC), or Kong Zi, founded Confucianism. His full name was Kong Qiu. His courtesy name was Zhongni. 'Lu' refers to Lu State, the birthplace of Confucius.
82. Laozi (600–470 BC) founded Daoism. His full name was Li Er. His courtesy name was Dan. He was praised by Confucius as a dragon.
83. Wuwei is the basic doctrine of Daoism. It literally means non-action. It centres on the idea that all beings, phenomena and forces are in harmony with the Dao, the principle or rule of the universe. This is illustrated in Laozi's quote: 'Nature does not hurry, yet everything is accomplished'.
84. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1209: 'San jiao sheng xiang bei' (Portraits of the saints of the three teachings).
85. Bo Hu, ed., *Menggu zu gudai junshi shi* (A military history of the Mongols) (Shengyang: Liaoning Minzu Publishing House, 2004), 907.
86. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 171.
87. Zhaqi Siqin, *Menggu wenhua yu shehui* (Mongolian culture and society) (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1992), 176.
88. Kalsang Gyal, *Xizang zongjiao* (Religion in Tibet) (Beijing: Wuzhou chuanbo chuban she, 2004), 106.
89. The Ministry of Rites was one of the three departments and six ministries which existed in the Sui and Tang dynasties. It was in charge of state rituals and ceremonies and oversaw religious affairs. It governed all monasteries, temples, churches and mosques and issued ordination certificates to candidates for priesthood. It also selected and appointed the leaders of religious institutions.
90. The Department of the Commissioners for Merit and Virtue worked together with the Ministry of Rites to govern religious affairs. Eminent monks were appointed as commissioners. Their job was to supervise religious institutions.
91. Gaohua Chen, 'Yuandai zhulu Shijiao Zongtongsuo' (The General Administration of Buddhist Affairs and its branches in the Yuan dynasty), *Wenshi*, no. 3 (2012): 409–432.

92. Also known as Haiyun Yinjian (海云印简).
93. The Mongol empire appointed state preceptors in different regions. Nine state preceptors were appointed in the Han Chinese region. Yinjian was awarded this title by Ögedei Khan in 1237.
94. Yimin Ren, *Zhonggu Fojiao shi: Yuandai* (A history of Chinese Buddhism: Yuan dynasty) (Beijing: Renmin chuban she, 2005), 84.
95. The name of the institution was changed to the Policy Implementation Council in 1288.
96. Ren, *Zhongguo Fojiao shi: Yuandai*, 429.
97. Qingying Chen, *Yuanchao Dishi basiba* (Drogön Chögyal Phagpa, Imperial Preceptor of the Yuan dynasty) (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 1992), 151; Furen Wang and Qingying Chen, *Meng Zang minzu guanxi shilue* (A history of Mongol-Tibetan relations) (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1985), 237.
98. Also known as Wansong Xingxiu (万松行秀).
99. Zengwen Yang, 'Jin mo Yuan chu Wansong Xingxiu he bei chuan Caodong zong' (Wansong Xingxiu and the development of the Caodong school in northern China during the late Jin and early Yuan dynasties), in *The Development of Buddhism in Beijing in the Yuan Dynasty*, ed. Xue Yi (Beijing: Gold Wall Press, 2014), 50.
100. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 118.
101. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 119.
102. Also known as Hongzhi Zhengjue (宏智正觉) and Tiantong Zhengjue (天童正觉).
103. Jiwen Du, *Fojiao shi* (History of Buddhism) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chuban she, 1991), 507.
104. Also known as Donglin Zhilong (东林志隆).
105. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 514–515.
106. Haowen Yuan, 'Shaolin yaoju ji' (Records of the Shaolin Pharmacy Bureau), in *Yishan xiansheng wenji* (Collection of Mr Yishan), vol. 35, Haowen Yuan (Beijing: National Library of China Publishing House, 2015), 6–7; Ping Wu and Xianyun Ye, 'Donglin Zhilong shengping shiji kao' (Study of Donglin Zhilong), *The Voice of Dharma* 230, no. 2 (2009): 53–55.
107. Also known as Rufeng Deren (乳峰德仁).
108. Shaoliang Zhou, *Zhou Shaoliang xiansheng jinian wenji* (Collection of Mr Shaoliang Zhou) (Beijing: Beijing Library Press, 2006), 377.
109. Also known as Xueting Fuyu (雪亭福裕).
110. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 518.
111. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1728: 'Chici zuting Shaolin Shishi yuanliu wujia zongpai shixi bei' (Patriarchal clan system of the Shaolin monks). English translation by author.
112. Chinese Buddhist monks/nuns normally have two names: a birth/lay name and a dharma/clerical name. The birth names only appear at the beginning of their biographies in Buddhist records. Eminent monks have an honorific name that is normally based on the name or location of the monastery where they earned fame and honour. For example, Fuyu's secular birth surname was Zhang. His dharma name was Fuyu (福裕), which literally means fortune and prosperity. He is always cited as Xueting Fuyu, rather than Shi Fuyu. Xueting (雪亭) was his honorific name. It literally means snow court. To take another example, Shi Liangjie (807–869), founder of the Caodong school of Chan, is always cited as Dongshan Liangjie. His secular birth surname was Yu. His dharma name was Liangjie (良价), which means good prestige or mercy/kindness. Dongshan (洞山) was his honorific name. It refers to Mount Dongshan in Jiangxi Province, where Liangjie gained his fame.

113. Also known as Zhangyun Huiqing (藏云慧山).
114. Also known as Wufeng Huiqing (五峰慧庆).
115. Also known as Zuan Jingsu (足庵净肃).
116. Also known as Lingyin Wentai (灵隐文泰).
117. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 129.
118. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 130.
119. Karakorum was the capital of the Mongol empire between 1235 and 1260. It was an important city on the Silk Road.
120. Xianyun Ye, 'Mengyuan qianqi ducheng Haci Helin cheng de Bei Shaolin si kao' (Northern Shaolin Monastery in Karakorum in the early Yuan era), *Studies in World Religions* 146, no. 6 (2014): 51.
121. Yan Tang, 'Shaolin si Qinggong gongxing bei kaoshi' (A study of Shaolin Monastery Stele: 'Biography of Master Qinggong'), in *Shaolin xue lunwen ji* (Shaolin studies essay collection), ed. Yongxin Shi (Beijing: Religious Culture Publisher, 2015), 127.
122. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 517.
123. Also known as Fuan Yuanzhao (复庵圆照).
124. Bo Cui, 'Songshan Dafawangsi dijiudai zhuchi Fuan Yuanzhao shiji kao' (Fuan Yuanzhao, the ninth abbot of Fawang Monastery at Mount Song), in *Fofa Wangting de guanghui: Songshan Dafawang si Fojiao wenhua yishu luntan wenji* (The palace of dharma: Essay collection of Fawang Monastery Buddhist culture and art forum), ed. Jingsong He (Beijing: Social Science Academic Press, 2014), 2.
125. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1293: 'Lingyan Zuan Sugong Chanshi daoxing bei' (Chan Master Lingyan Zuan Sugong's biography).
126. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1513: 'Chici Songshan zuting Shaolin Chansi di ershiba dai zhuchi Yuezhou Chanshi xingshi bei' (Biography of the twenty-eighth generation of Shaolin abbot Chan master Yuezhou).
127. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 36–39.
128. The Shaolin Monastery Pagoda of 1299: 'Xuanshou Shaolin Tiju puzhao Zangyun dashi Shangong Anzhu tamin bing xu' (Inscriptions for Master Zangyun, Tiju of Shaolin Monastery).
129. Derong Ye, *Zongtong yu fatong* (Clan transmission and dharma transmission: Shaolin Monastery at Mount Song) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chuban she, 2010), 32.
130. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1349: 'Songshan zuting Shaolin Chansi di shiyidai zhuchi Fenglin Guigong Chanshi xingzhuang zhi bei' (Biography of the eleventh generation of Shaolin abbot Chan Master Fenglin Guigong); The Shaolin Monastery Pagoda of 1318: 'Songshan zuting Shaolin si Ehgong Shanzhu tamin' (Inscriptions for Hegong Shanzhu); The Shaolin Monastery Pagoda of 1373: 'Songyan Jungong heshang tamin' (Inscriptions of monk Songyan Jungong).
131. Derong Ye, 'Lun Handi sengren zongtong jiegou—yi Songshan Shaolin si wei li' (The clan system of Han Buddhist monks: The case of Shaolin at Mount Song), in *Shaolin Xue lunwen ji* (Shaolin studies essay collection), ed. Yongxin Shi (Beijing: Religious Culture Publisher, 2015), 175.
132. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1314: 'Dayuan zeng da si kong kai fu yi tong san si zhuifeng jinguo gong Shaolin Kaishan Guangzong Zhengfa da Chanshi Fuyu gong zhi bei' (Guangzong Dhamma Master of the great Yuan, Fuyu's biography); the Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1318: 'Shaolin Chansi di shidai Miaoyan Hongfa Da Chanshi Guyan JIugong heshang daoxing beimin bing xu' (Biography of the tenth generation of Shaolin abbot Chan Master Guyan Jiugong).
133. Also known as Xian Yirang (息庵义让).

134. Shaolin Stele of 1334: 'Henanfu lu Dengfeng si xian Songshan Zuting da Shaolin Chansi di shiwu dai zhuchi Xian Chanshi xingshi zhi bei' (Biography of the fifteenth generation of Shaolin abbot Chan Master Xian).
135. Bernard Faure, 'The Creation of Ch'an Pilgrimage Sites', *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed. Susan Naquin and Chun-Fang Yu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 181. Also see: Sato Shuko, 'On Monk Kogen-Shogen Who Stayed in Yuan China (I)', *Journal of the Faculty of Buddhism of Komazawa University* 54 (1996): 147–188; Sato Shuko, 'On Monk Kogen-Shogen Who Stayed in Yuan China (II)', *Journal of the Faculty of Buddhism of Komazawa University* 60 (2002): 199–240; Sato Shuko, 'On Monk Kogen-Shogen Who Stayed in Yuan China (III)', *Journal of the Faculty of Buddhism of Komazawa University* 61 (2003): 73–140.
136. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 171.
137. Fawang Monastery is underneath Yuzhu Peak of Mount Song, 15 kilometre from Shaolin Monastery. In 1245, Fuyu was appointed abbot of Shaolin. He was also requested by the government to oversee the operation of Buddhist monasteries in the Mount Song region, including Fawang Monastery.
138. Xueting Fuyu, the then Head of the General Administration of Buddhist Affairs.
139. Fuan Yuanzhao, the then abbot of Shaolin Monastery.
140. Tang, 'Shaolin si Qinggong gongxing bei kaoshi', 127.
141. Xuanshou Shaolin Tiju puzhao Zangyun dashi Shangong Anzhu tamin bing xu.
142. The White Lotus Society was a heterodox Buddhist cult founded in the early twentieth century. The followers of the cult believed that the future Buddha would purify the chaotic world and offer salvation to believers. Followers of the White Lotus Society did not follow the rules for Buddhist monks/nuns and still lived a secular life. This was appealing to many lower-class people struggling in poverty. Due to its anti-establishment nature, the sect was repeatedly banned by the Mongol regime.
143. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 173.
144. Zhizheng era (1341–1370).
145. Songyue Jungong heshang tamin.
146. Xizhi Shan, 'Chongzhuang foxiang bei jielue' (Rebuild the Buddha statues), in *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin), ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 117.
147. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1517: 'Naluotin shen hufa shiji bei' (Legend of Narayana).
148. Master Zhiyi (538–597) of Xiuchan Monastery.
149. Chinese Lunar Calendar: the twenty-sixth day of the third month of 1351.
150. According to historian Tang Hao's study, Shaolin was attacked by the Red Turbans between 1356 and 1358.
151. Myriad practices, known as Wanxing in Chinese.
152. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1517: 'Naluoting shen hufa shiji bei'.
153. The Shaolin Monastery Editorial Department, 'Shaolin wushu de lishi yanbian 1' (The historical development of Shaolin kung fu 1), *Dew of Chan* 87, no. 4 (2015): 31.
154. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1517: 'Naluotin shen hufa shiji bei'.

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4 The Transformation of Shaolin in the Ming Dynasty

Taking a rest at Shaolin,
And watching the warrior monks demonstrating their amazing martial arts skills with iron staffs and various weapons.
Tough and strong, they are able to beat devils.
Fast and flexible, they can fight off tigers.
By fighting for peace, they have achieved merit and attained Buddhahood.
Protecting the country and bringing peace to the world, they contribute to the transmission of the dharma.
The statue of Vairocana[1] sits in the centre of the hall. The 500 Arhats look peaceful and serene.
Shaolin monks have demonstrated their loyalty and practised the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[2]

Cheng Shao (1557–1639), 1624.[3]

Unlike the founding emperors of the previous dynasties, who had come from propitious backgrounds, Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398), founder of the Ming dynasty, was born into a poor farming family in Zhongli County, Hao Prefecture (today's Fengyang County, Anhui Province). After a major drought in 1344, his parents and older brother died of starvation and disease. Struggling to survive, he joined Huangjue Monastery in Fengyang County as a Buddhist candidate.[4] He took part in the anti-Yuan rebellions and soon rose to become a military commander of the Red Turbans.

Zhu's political ideas and religious policies were influenced by Buddhist teachings. On the one hand, he took a supportive stance in dealing with mainstream religion. Immediately after the establishment of the Ming dynasty, he restored the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth and the other Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist rituals, in order to reinforce legitimacy and internal stability. Monks and nuns received tax and corvée waivers. He organised the printing of the *Chinese Buddhist Canon* (Da Zang Jing) and ordered all Buddhist monks and nuns to study the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (Lengqie Jing), the *Diamond Sūtra* (Jingang Jing) and the *Heart Sūtra* (Xin Jing). He also composed essays and poems to praise

Buddhism and contributed a preface to the *Heart Sūtra* in the *Chinese Buddhist Canon*.[5]

On the other hand, the Ming court launched a series of reforms to reinforce its control over religious institutions.[6] First, the General Administration of Buddhist Affairs and the Central Administrative Council established by the Yuan government were abolished, and the Ministry of Rites became the sole governing body for all religious affairs. Second, the government no longer sold Ordination Certificates to Buddhist and Daoist candidates. Instead, examinations were held every three years for the candidates, and only those who had perfectly memorised and comprehended the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, *Diamond Sūtra* and *Heart Sūtra* were ordained. Any individual or religious institution that conducted private ordinations was punished. Third, the government limited the number and size of religious institutions. According to a decree issued in 1391, each zhou, or prefecture, was only permitted to have one major monastery accommodating up to 40 monks and nuns.[7] Religious institutions were not allowed to expand without the approval of the government. Monk officials were appointed to supervise Buddhist and Daoist monasteries and temples around the country.[8]

Guided by these policies, both Buddhism and Daoism enjoyed steady development.[9] By the late Ming era, the population of monks and nuns in China totalled 500,000.[10] Meanwhile, supported by scholar-officials and innovative Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist leaders, the three teachings continued to integrate.[11] Buddhism further assimilated with Confucianism and Daoism in order to retain its popularity. It borrowed the concept of merits and demerits from Daoism 'as a means of determining the individual's status of the path to Nirvana.'[12] Efforts were made by eminent monks to use Confucianism to complement Buddhism. This led to 'a renewed emphasis on strictness in observing Buddhist rules,'[13] which protected Buddhism from laxity. It also helped the Buddhist faith to achieve greater acceptance among Confucian scholars.

In this context, the boundaries between Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism were no longer clearly defined. Functionally, Buddhism and Daoism tended to merge. Both Buddhist monks and Daoist priests served as exorcists and healers and were called upon to conduct rituals for rain, funerals and other ceremonies.[14] Many of the Confucian clan temples were managed by Buddhists or Daoists. Some local shrines had either a Daoist or Buddhist cleric in charge. Some monks combined Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism and established special halls in which to worship. General Guan Yu (?–220) of the state of Shu Han, who symbolised the Confucian virtues of loyalty and righteousness, was worshipped in Confucian clan temples as well as in many Buddhist and Daoist monasteries. For example, there were two statues of Guan Yu in Shaolin—one in the Entrance Hall of the First Patriarch Temple built around the early

Ming era,[15] the other in the Guanyin Hermitage to the east side of the monastery, which was constructed in the early eighteenth century.[16] In addition, there was a portrait stele of Guan Yu outside Shaolin's Thousand Buddhas Hall (see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 The Shaolin Monastery Stele: 'Portrait of Lord Guan Yu Outside the Thousand Buddhas Hall.' Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao, ed., *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaoli) (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 10.

Source: Courtesy of Guangling Guji Press.

The Further Development of Caodong Chan

During the Ming dynasty, Chan remained the dominant form of Buddhism, while Pure Land began to undergo a revival.[17] Led by renowned Chan masters, notably Shi Fanqi (1296–1370),[18] Shi Debao (1512–1581),[19] Shi Yuanwu (1566–1642)[20] and Shi Fazang (1573–1635),[21] the Linji school continued to develop. It advocated the Kanhua Chan (questioning meditation) practice, a tradition which can be traced back to Linji Chan master Shi Zonggao (1089–1163),[22] who emphasised the use of the gongan as a topic of meditative inquiry, 'rather than interpret[ing] it from purely intellectual or conceptual perspectives.'[23] The practice centred on the creation of a sense of doubt over the key words or phrases in gongan stories and encouraged meditators to research and investigate the truth, which would help to 'free the mind from conceptualisation and to lead the meditator forward toward liberation.'[24] Some Linji masters called for the study of Confucianism and Daoism and employed Confucian and Daoist teachings to complement Chan, in order to achieve an understanding of the universal principle of all things.[25] Although there was a lack of new development in theory and practice, the Linji school held its position as the more popular form of Chan Buddhism in China.

The Caodong school was carried on by Shi Fuyu's Shaolin lineage. Thanks to the efforts of Abbot Shi Ziding (1314–1386),[26] Abbot Shi Ziyan (1321–1391)[27] and Abbot Shi Liaogai (1335–1421),[28] and with the support of lay patrons and the Ming government, Shaolin Monastery soon recovered from the destruction brought by the Red Turbans. The buildings and Buddha statues destroyed by the rebels were restored, and monks and lay disciples who had left the monastery in the 1350s returned.

In 1368, funded by the Chai family from Luoyang, Shaolin restored the three statues of Amitābha,[29] Bhaiṣajyaguru[30] and Shakyamuni housed in the Mahavira Hall.[31] In 1409, the Prince of Zhou, Zhu Su (1361–1425), donated a jade statue of Amitābha to Shaolin to celebrate the birth of his son. He also invited Shaolin abbot Shi Ziyan to Kaifeng to teach Chan Buddhism. The Prince of Shu, Zhu Chun (1371–1423), the Prince of Ying, Zhu Dong (1388–1414), and the Prince of Hui, Zhu Jianpei (1462–1505), offered funding to renovate the monastery.[32] In 1464, in gratitude for the Prince of Hui's generous donation, Shaolin monks erected a stele for him. In 1519, eunuch official Zhang Yong (1465–1529), who was in charge of ritual affairs, donated a statue of Bodhidharma to Shaolin.[33] In this period, several Ming princes joined Shaolin as lay disciples to study Chan Buddhism,[34] reflecting the close and special relationship between Shaolin and the Ming government.

Throughout the fifteenth century, led by dharma heirs of the Caodong Chan lineage, notably Shi Qibin (1382–1452),[35] Shi Kecong (1420–1483),[36] Shi Wenzai (1454–1523)[37] and Shi Zongshu (1500–1567),[38] Shaolin firmly held its position as the centre of Caodong Chan (see Figure 4.2).

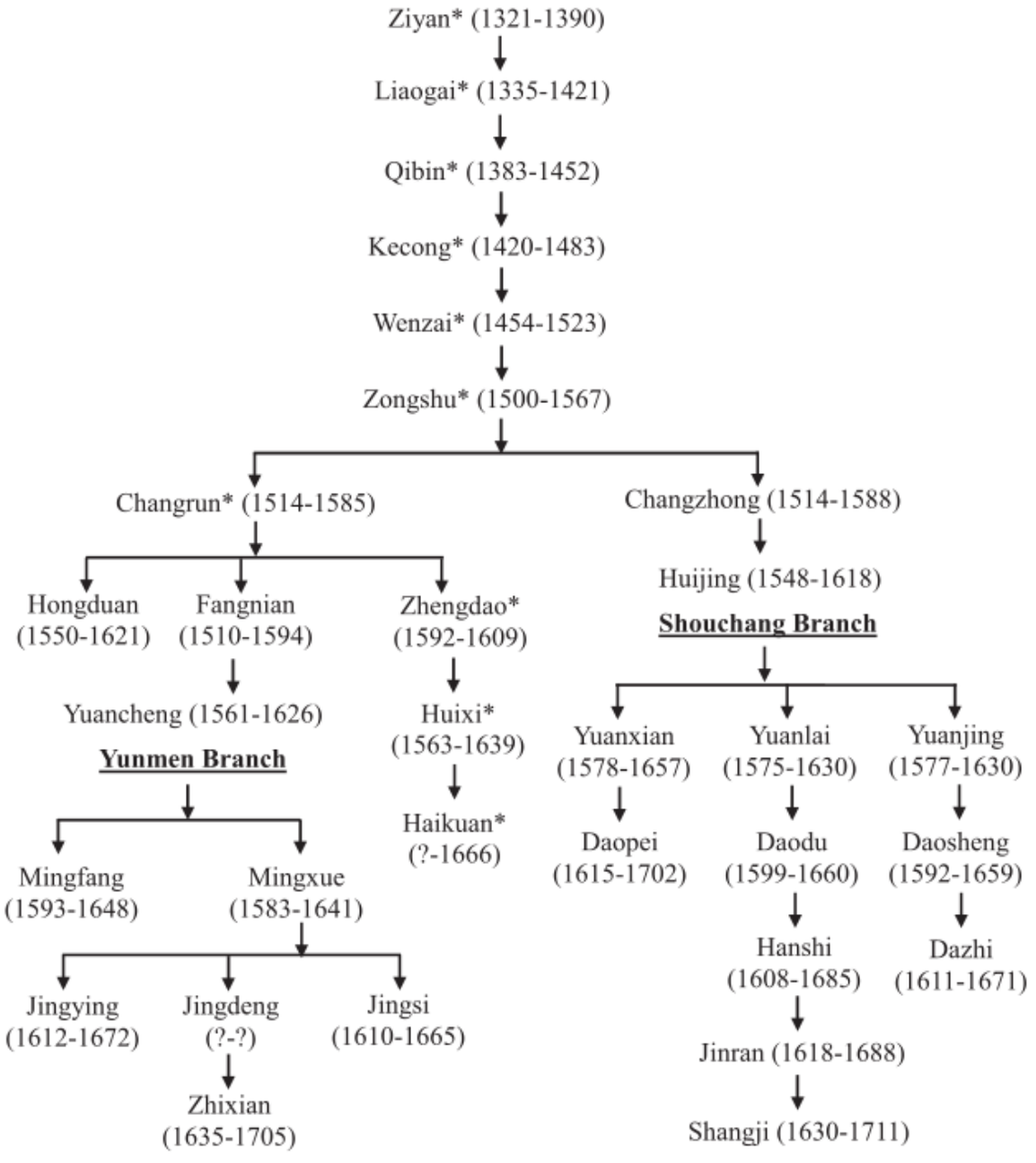

Figure 4.2 The Lineage of the Caodong School of Chan Buddhism in the Ming Dynasty.

Note: * denotes Shaolin abbot.

Source: Chart created by author.

By the mid-sixteenth century, Shaolin had reached its zenith. New temples and halls were built. These included the Kinnara Hall and the Sixth Patriarch Hall constructed in the fifteenth century, the East Memorial Archway erected in 1544, the West Memorial Archway built in 1555, the Shi Fang Chan Yuan Temple constructed between 1512 and 1577, the South Garden built during the Wanli Reign Period (1572–1620) and the Thousand Buddhas Hall, finished in 1588.

In addition, several important buildings, including the Snow Pavilion (1512), the Scripture Hall, the West Chan Hall (1470, 1510), the Abbot Room (1511, 1551), the Bell Tower (1511), the First Patriarch Temple (1553) and the Second Patriarch Temple (1565), were renovated.[39] A large number of pagodas were also erected in this period. Of the 229 ancient Shaolin pagodas, more than 140 were built during the Ming dynasty (see Figure 4.3).

The Shi Fang Chan Yuan Temple reflected the popularity of Shaolin in the Buddhist world. The temple was built in front of the monastery, 100 metres from the main gate, based on a Chan hall constructed in 1512. Funded by patrons from the Ming government, it was expanded into a temple in the 1570s. The purpose was to accommodate visitors and travelling monks from around the country.

The South Garden and the Thousand Buddhas Hall, for their part, showed Shaolin's superior status and the royal patronage it enjoyed. The South Garden was also called Zhoufu Temple and was funded by the Prince of Zhou, Zhu Suqin (1563–1635). The garden was 150 metres east of the Shi Fang Chan Yuan Temple. It contained a front gate, a Buddha hall, a Chan hall, a scriptures hall and a kitchen and dining hall, and was used to accommodate retired senior monks.[40]

The construction of the Thousand Buddhas Hall was initiated and funded by the imperial court. The hall was used to store the newly

Figure 4.3 The Shaolin Pagoda Forest.

Source: © Dingwu Liu/Microfotos.

printed *Collection of Supplementary Canonical Texts* (Xu Ru Zang Jing) and the *Yongle Northern Edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon* (Yongle Bei Zang).[41] The walls of the hall were covered with murals of the Five Hundred Arhats, disciples of Shakyamuni Buddha (see Figures 4.4 and 4.5). The reasons behind the construction of the hall are explained in an imperial order issued by the Wanli Emperor (1563–1620) in 1587:

> The nineteenth day of the eleventh month, the fifteenth year of Wanli. The emperor's order to the abbot and monks of Shaolin: I believe Buddhist wisdom can all be found in classic scriptures. It guides good and honest people, helps lost souls and protects the country and the people. The Heavenly Holy Mother Empress Dowager Cisheng Xuanwen Mingsu [Empress Dowager Xiaoding] ordered the printing of the *Collection of Supplementary Canonical Texts*. Now, we award the *Collection of Supplementary Canonical Texts* and 637 cases [of the *Yongle Northern Edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon*] to this monastery. You should chant the scriptures with a calm, righteous and undisturbed mind. These scriptures must be carefully protected and preserved. Therefore, I grant you this hall to store them and make them last forever.[42]

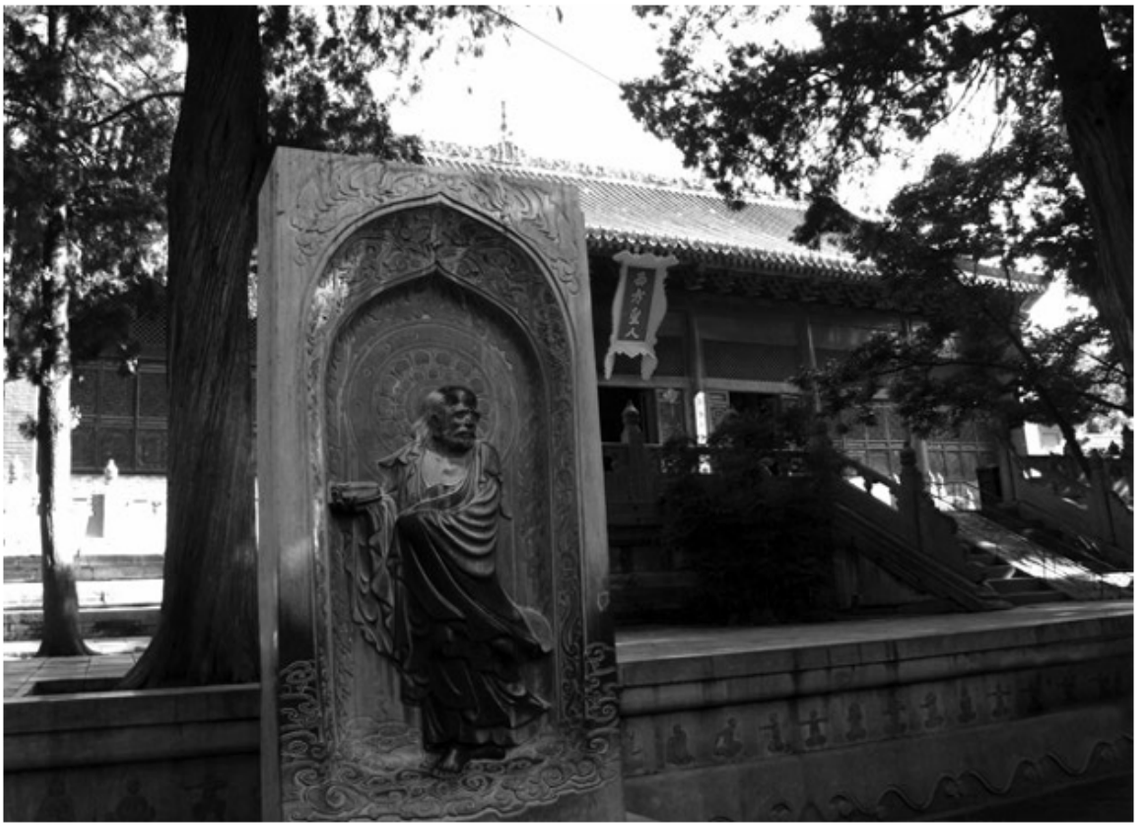

Figure 4.4 The Thousand Buddhas Hall and the Statue of Bodhidharma.
Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

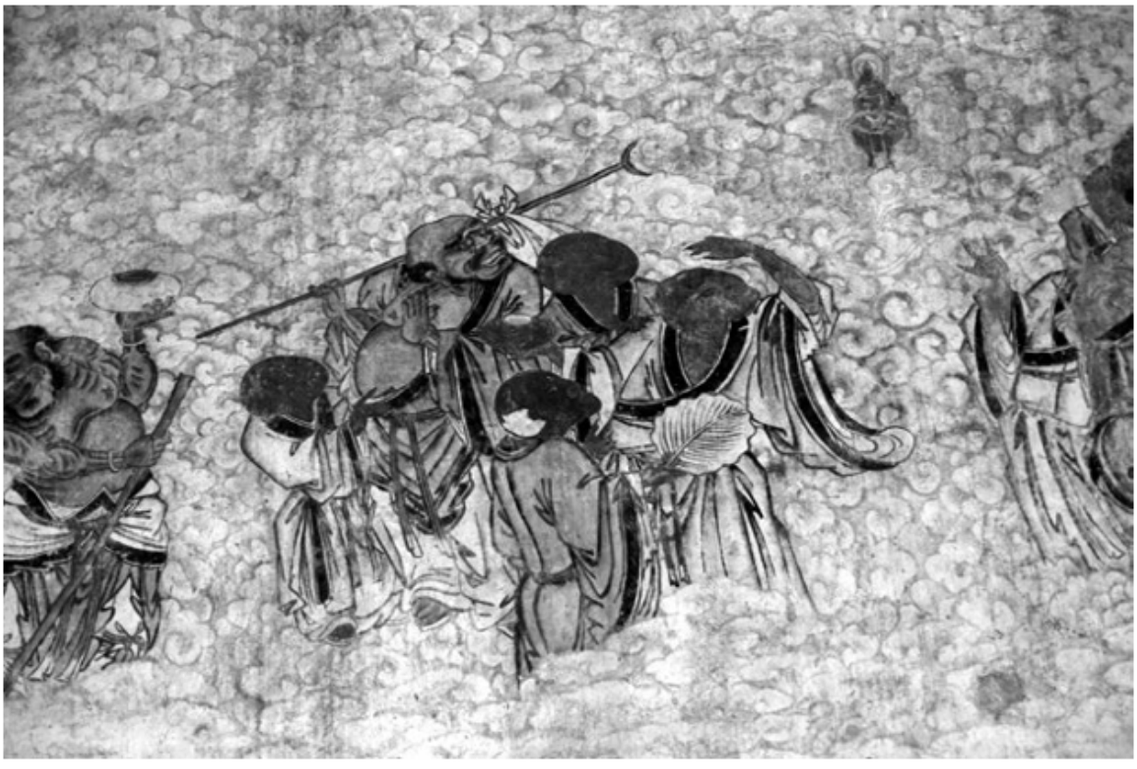

Figure 4.5 Murals of the Five Hundred Arhats in the Thousand Buddhas Hall.
Source: © Shian Ding/Microfotos.

The development of Shaolin could be seen not only in the construction of new buildings and pagodas, but also in the growing population of monks. In 1360, there were only around 20 monks in Shaolin.[43] By 1513, the monastery accommodated more than 190 monks. The figure had increased to 440 by 1599.[44]

The lineage temples, which had started to appear during the late Yuan dynasty, continued to grow, accommodating an increasing number of monks, Buddhist candidates and lay disciples. A Shaolin pagoda erected in 1593 illustrates the development of a lineage temple established by Shaolin monk Shi Pujun.[45] The temple accommodated 32 monks from the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth generations of Fuyu's Shaolin patriarchal clan (see Chapter 3). The inscriptions on the pagoda reflect the unity of the three teachings and the influence of Confucianism on Buddhism. Ancestor worship, filial piety and clan culture are the key words:

> Filial disciples: Guangwei, Guangying, Guangmei;
> Filial grandsons: Zongkai, Zongju, Zongjian, Zongjing, Zongyan, Zonghan, Zongyao, Zongguang;
> Great-grandsons: Daoran, Daoxin, Daofu, Daoquan, Daode, Daozhang, Daozhan, Daochu, Daoyi, Daojing, Daocun, Daoyuan;

Qingniao, Qinghui, Qingtong, Qingyuan, Qingshe, Qingzan, Qingshan, Qingyu;
Great-great-grandson: Tongxi.[46]

The integration of the three teachings is also reflected in a Shaolin Monastery stele erected in 1565: 'Illustration of the Unity of Three Teachings and Nine Schools.' The stele shows Confucius, Lao Zi and the Shakyamuni Buddha sharing one body. In the middle, it shows the Buddha holding a sutra. On the right, it shows an image of Confucius bowing to the Buddha, while on the left, Lao Zi is bowing to the Buddha (see Figure 4.6).

The inscription on the stele explains the relationships between Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism and highlights their social and political

Figure 4.6 The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1565: 'Illustration of the Unity of Three Teachings and Nine Schools.'

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

significance. It also addresses the role of the primary schools of Chinese philosophy and explains the interactive, co-dependent and inseparable relationship between all objects, beings and phenomena, pointing out that the universe is a harmonious unity:

> Buddhism helps us to discover the true self; Daoism helps people to remain healthy and achieve longevity; Confucianism clarifies ethics. The three cardinal guides and five constant virtues lead to the noble way.[47]
>
> Agriculturists emphasise one's duty and obligations; Mohists advocate universal love; logicians believe that perception should match reality; legalists use law to assist in the governance of the country; political strategists deal with political and diplomatic affairs; novelists gather stories and contribute to social education; Yin Yang believers study astrology and teach people to follow the rules of the universe; doctors help people to restore their health; eclectics experts study the knowledge of all schools. One who studies a wide range of knowledge cannot specialise in one particular area. One who specialises in one area cannot have a wide range of knowledge.
>
> Everything in the universe, including light from the sun, the moon and the stars, silver, jade, the five grains,[48] our mind, body, skin, nose, mouth and ears, all have different functions but they all follow the rules of the universe and co-exist with each other. Some people have failed to understand this truth and have become paranoid. They can only get along with people who hold the same beliefs as theirs and reject everyone else. The universe is one unity. We should not worry about the differences between various objects and phenomena. It is vital to understand that everything has its own mission and strength and is an indispensable part of the universe. Only by doing so can we realise the ultimate truth.
>
> The three teachings are one unity. The nine schools[49] have the same origin. The hundred schools of thought[50] are based on the same principle and all the methods and practices seek the harmonious unity of all existence.[51]

Despite the promising developments in the first half of the Ming dynasty, Shaolin's influence in the Buddhist world started to decline in the sixteenth century, when dharma heirs of the Caodong Chan lineage from Shaolin began to spread their teachings into eastern and southern China.

Starting with Shaolin abbot Shi Zongshu's two dharma heirs, Shi Changrun (1514–1585)[52] and Shi Changzhong (1514–1588),[53] the Caodong school of Chan developed in the following three directions:

1. Changrun was made abbot of Shaolin. His dharma heir Shi Zhengdao (1592–1609)[54] became his successor and carried on the Caodong lineage in the monastery.

2. Changrun's other disciples travelled to eastern China to spread Caodong Chan teachings. Shi Fangnian (1510–1594),[55] Shi Hongduan (1550–1621)[56] and Shi Fazhong (1541–1620)[57] were the most influential Chan masters among them.[58] Fangnian's dharma heir Shi Yuancheng (1561–1626)[59] taught Caodong Chan in Yunmen Monastery, Tianhua Monastery and Guangxiao Monastery in Huiji (today's Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province) and established the Yunmen branch of Caodong Chan.[60] The Yunmen branch employed the theory and practice of Pure Land Buddhism to complement Caodong Chan. Meditators were encouraged to pray to Amitābha Buddha, focusing on those reborn in the Pure Land during meditation. It also advocated the idea that Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism share the same principle upon which the universe is based.[61]
3. Changzhong travelled to Jiangxi Province. He settled down on Mount Linshan and transmitted the dharma to Shi Huijing (1548–1618),[62] who started the Shouchang branch of Caodong Chan in Shouchang Monastery in Lichuan County, Jiangxin Province. The Shouchang branch focused on the Kanhua Chan practice.[63] Thanks to the efforts of Huijin's disciples, it expanded into today's Fujian, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Guangdong provinces.

By the mid-sixteenth century, the centre of Chaodong Chan had gradually shifted away from Shaolin and the Caodong lineage was mainly carried on by the Shouchang and Yunmen branches (see Figure 4.2).[64] In a context of social unrest and widespread rebellion, the promotion of Buddhist studies was no longer the sole concern of Shaolin. Shaolin monks took a new direction. Like their Sui dynasty predecessors, they became involved in politics and served the Ming government as a loyal military force. This led to the transformation of Shaolin from a centre of Buddhist studies into a major player in the sphere of Chinese martial arts.

A Loyal Military Force

In the early years of the Ming dynasty, the court's economic policy focused on supporting war refugees and poor farmers, and the promotion of agriculture. Displaced farmers were encouraged to migrate to the Huai River region of north-central China and remote border regions in western and southern China, to reclaim land for agricultural use. The government provided seeds and cattle and waived taxes. Soldiers were ordered to work on land reclamation and water conservation projects. The Grand Canal, which linked Beijing in northern China and Hangzhou in eastern China, was rebuilt and expanded, facilitating rapid acceleration of the commercialisation of agriculture. These policies contributed to social stability and helped China recover from the collapse of the Yuan dynasty. The second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth

century was a high tide of social and economic development. Cities grew in both size and number, and the national population increased rapidly.[65]

However, from the mid-fifteenth century on, the Ming court began to experience economic difficulties and political turmoil, for a number of reasons. First, starting with Emperor Yingzong (1427–1464), crowned in 1435 at the age of eight as the dynasty's first child emperor, the Ming dynasty began to be ruled by young emperors who rose to the throne as children or teenagers.[66] The eunuchs who served as attendants and trusted personal advisors to these young emperors gained considerable power. They competed with ministers and accumulated excessive influence over courtly affairs, resulting in internal power struggles and conflicts which shattered the stability of the central government.

Second, massive military spending had drained national wealth and created financial difficulties. In the southwest, native chieftain Si Renfa (?–1445) rose in rebellion in Luchuan, Yunnan Province, in 1436. The Ming court launched four expeditions to quell the rebellion. Soon after the Luchan Rebellion, the Miao, Yao and other indigenous tribes in southwestern China launched uprisings in 1449. This time, the government dispatched a considerably larger military force to restore order. In the meantime, border regions in the northwest were frequently invaded by Mongolian tribes. In 1449, the Ming army commanded by Emperor Yingzong was defeated by the Mongols in the Battle of Tumu Fortress and the emperor was captured and imprisoned. The Mongol army even advanced to the capital, Beijing.

Third, more and more farmland was annexed by powerful landlords, officials, eunuchs and royal family members. This resulted in a decline in the amount of taxable farmland, leading to lower revenue.[67]

Faced with the financial difficulties created by these factors, the government exploited farmers already struggling under heavy tax and corvée burdens.[68] In order to avoid tax and make a living, a huge number of refugees and displaced farmers migrated to the mountain regions between the borders of Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Fujian, Henan, Shaanxi and Sichuan provinces to reclaim land and open mines. However, due to security and taxation concerns, the government banned agriculture and mining activities in these areas and intended to send the displaced people back to their homes. The farmers and miners were thus forced to revolt against the authorities. In the second half of the fifteenth century, at least five large-scale rebellions, involving between 10,000 and a few hundred thousand rebels, broke out across the country.[69]

Entering the sixteenth century, the government was failing to bring the country back on track. Excessive corvée labour and tax demands continued to generate disarray and popular discontent. This was worsened by Emperor Wuzong (1491–1521) and Emperor Shizong (1507–1567), who both ascended to the throne at the age of 14 and had little interest in politics. Wuzong took up a luxurious and self-indulgent lifestyle and

handed his authority to the eunuchs, while Shizong was obsessed with Daoism and rarely attended court. Peasant uprisings continued, which in turn deepened the political and economic crisis. It was against this socio-political background that Shaolin re-established its link with politics.

In 1508 and 1509, farmers in Sichuan Province launched two major revolts which expanded into Shaanxi and Guizhou provinces and took the Ming court five years to quell. In October 1510, led by Liu Chong and Liu Chen, displaced farmers in Hebei Province whose land was occupied by powerful royal family members and officials rose in rebellion. In less than a year, the rebel forces expanded into Shandong, Shaanxi, Henan, Hubei, Hunan and Jiangxi provinces. The rebellion was suppressed in late 1512.[70]

Immediately after Liu Chong and Liu Chen launched the revolts, Shaolin monks were summoned by the authorities to join the military operations against the rebels. A decade later, Shaolin monks again provided military support to Ming troops in two major rebellions, one launched by Miao tribes in Yunnan Province in February 1522 and the other by miners in Shandong Province in November 1522.

Shi Zhouyou (?–1547)[71] was the leader of the monks taking part in these battles. He was awarded the titles 'World Famous Heroic Fighter, Instructor of the Warrior Monks' and 'Monk of Three Outstanding Merits.' Zhouyou was famous for his spear skills. According to the *Menglu Hall Spear Techniques* (Menglu Tang Qiangfa) composed by Zhouyou's disciple Shi Hongzhuan, 'Three Outstanding Merits' refers to the three spear techniques invented by Zhouyou. Some historians assert that Zhouyou was awarded the Qigong Merit, the top military merit, by the Ming court three times for his contributions to military operations against rebels.[72]

In 1548, a pagoda was erected in Shaolin by officials from the Henan Province Ceremonial Guard Office (Yiwei Si) to commemorate Zhouyou. The heading of the pagoda reads as follows:

> By Imperial Order: Grant Zhouyou of the Grand Shaolin Chan Monastery the title of 'World Famous Heroic Fighter, Instructor of the Warrior Monks.' During the Zhengde Reign Period (1505–1521), Zhouyou followed the imperial order to guard the fortress towns under regional administrations of Shandong and Shanxi. He was made the commander-in-chief and took part in the expedition to Yunnan. [The court] award[s] this pagoda to Zhouyou, Monk of Three Outstanding Merits.[73]

The inscription on the pagoda reflects Zhouyou's renowned status as a monk and martial arts master:

> He has more than one thousand disciples and students from Shandong and Zhili provinces; Sui, Chen, Guide, Jun, Xu prefectures of Henan

> Province; Fugou County, Xihua County, Suiping County, Yancheng County, Jia County, Xiang County, Bao County, Ruzhou County, Ningling County, Shangcai County, Xincai County, Yuzhou County, Dengzhou County, Lushan County and Queshan County.[74]

In 1553, led by salt smuggler Shi Shangzhao (?–1533), refugees and farmers whose lives had been destroyed by famine and epidemics in Zhecheng, one of the poorest counties in Guide Prefecture (today's city of Shangqiu) in eastern Henan Province, attacked the local government and looted the grain reserves. The revolt soon developed into a large-scale rebellion.[75] This time, 50 Shaolin monks were assembled by the authorities to battle against the rebels. This is described in Superintendent Monk Shi Zhoucan's (1517–1574)[76] pagoda, erected in 1575:

> Master Zhoucan, honorific name Zhufang . . . started to practise martial arts when he was a child and he is an expert in the Six Secret Teachings.[77] . . . He is brave and honest and is very well known for his superior fighting skill. . . . In 1553, he was ordered to lead 50 monk soldiers to fight against the rebels headed by Shi Shangzhao. They used their wisdom and martial arts skills on the battlefield to defeat the powerful enemies. They have served the country and demonstrated true loyalty and righteousness. . . . He passed away in 1574 at the age of 58.[78]

In addition to Zhouyou and Zhoucan, records of Shaolin warrior monks/instructors[79] and their military services to the Ming court can be found in the other six pagodas erected in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries:

- Monk Tianzhu Jiugong's pagoda, erected in 1564: 'By Imperial Order, Instructor Tianzhu Jiugong's pagoda'[80]
- Monk Shi Guangzhu's[81] pagoda, erected in 1582: 'By Imperial Order, Instructor Tianyi Zhugong of the Shaolin Chan Monastery'[82]
- Supervisor-in-Chief Monk Shi Wulei's[83] pagoda, erected in 1583: 'By Imperial Order, Instructor Dazhen Leigong, Supervisor-in-Chief of the Shaolin Chan Monastery'[84]
- Monk Shi Zongwu's (1578–1618)[85] pagoda, erected in 1619: 'By Imperial Order, Instructor Benle Wugong of the Shaolin Chan Monastery. Aged 41'[86]
- Supervisor-in-Chief Monk Shi Tongshun's (1535–1618)[87] pagoda, erected in 1619: 'By Imperial Order, Monk Wanan Shungong, Supervisor-in-Chief of the Shaolin Chan Monastery, who was honoured for his military service. Aged 74'[88]
- Monk Shi Pubian's (1542–1624)[89] pagoda, erected in 1625: Shaolin Pagoda of 1625: 'By Imperial Order, Monk Pubian of the Cradle of

> Chan—Grand Shaolin Chan Monastery, who was honoured for his military service. Aged 83'[90]

While the Ming government was struggling to suppress peasant rebellions, pirates in coastal regions of southeastern China began to pose another major threat. This pirate crisis started to emerge in the 1540s, when Japanese Samurai, Ronin, merchants and pirates colluded with Chinese smugglers and bandits to raid cities, towns and fishing villages along the coast. The local authorities were too weak or unwilling to defend them, and the crisis spread across the coastal regions of Jiangnan, Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong provinces and reached its peak in the mid-1550s. The Ming court dispatched troops led by General Qi Jiguang (1528–1588) and General Yu Dayou (1503–1579), eventually driving out the pirates by 1565.[91]

In the early 1550s, while the local governments were still waiting for the Ming court to authorise and dispatch its standing army, local security forces and militias were mobilised to defend against the pirates. Monks from Shaolin and other Buddhist monasteries at Mount Funiu in western Henan and Mount Wutai in Shandong Province were sent to Zhejiang Province to assist local security forces. They took part in six major battles in Hangzhou (1553), Wengjia Port (1553), White Sand Beach (1553), Yexie Town (1554), Majiabang (1554), Liuli Bridge (1555) and Chaomen (1555).[92]

At the beginning, government officials were suspicious about the monks' military capabilities and organised contests to test them. According to *Miscellaneous Notes from the Yongzhuang Pavilion* (Yongzhuang Xiaopin), compiled by late Ming scholar-official Zhu Guozhen (1557–1632), the Ministry of Rites summoned more than ten martial arts instructors to discuss the pirate crisis. A contest was held to test their fighting capabilities and the instructors were all defeated by a Shaolin monk.[93]

The *Tactics and Strategy of Defence in the Jiangnan Region* (Jiangnan Jing Lue), compiled by Ming scholar Zheng Ruoceng (1503–1570), records another contest organised by military commander Wan Biao (1498–1556),[94] who recruited a troop of 200 monk soldiers to defend Hangzhou. At the contest, the monk Guzhou defeated eight local martial arts instructors and won the respect of the Commissioner of Hangzhou:

> The Commissioner asked Luyuan: 'What are the monks capable of? It seems that you have placed a lot of hope on them.' Luyuan presented several examples to explain the monks' martial arts skills and strategic talent. The Commissioner wanted to place a wager on the monks' fighting capabilities. Luyuan then organised a banquet at the Yongjin Gate [of Hangzhou]. The Commissioner invited eight local martial arts instructors to the banquet and asked Luyuan to select a monk to fight against them. Luyuan summoned Guzhou to

> the banquet. Guzhou did not know that he was going to challenge eight opponents. The eight martial arts instructors jumped out and attacked Guzhou with staffs. Guzhou did not have any weapon with him. He captured a staff from them with his sleeve and fought back. The eight instructors were knocked down on the ground. The Commissioner applauded Guzhou. Guzhou shouted: 'Is this a revenge? Why have you set up this trap to kill me?' Luyuan explained the reason to him. After that, the monk soldiers were highly respected by the Commissioner.[95]

Subsequently, the monks took part in a battle outside Hangzhou in 1553. This is recorded in *Tactics and Strategy of Defence in the Jiangnan Region*:

> The pirates attacked Hang City. The commander led 40 monk soldiers to defend the city. Monk Tianzhen and Monk Tianchi were appointed captains. Tianchi was from Shaolin. . . . They defeated the pirates.[96]

Another battle fought in Songjiang is described in late Ming historian Gu Yanwu's (1613–1682) *Records of Knowledge Daily Acquired* (Ri Zhi Lu):

> During the Jiajing Reign Period, a group of thirty Shaolin monks led by Yuekong were assembled by Wan Biao to join the battle against the pirates in Songjiang Prefecture. They killed pirates with iron staffs and sacrificed their lives in the battles. What a great sacrifice this was! They fought for the people and devoted themselves to safeguarding the country. They are no longer ordinary monks and they should be remembered as heroes.[97]

The details of the role of Shaolin monk Yuekong and other monk soldiers in the battles against the pirates, including their fighting skills, tactics, costumes and weapons, are recorded in a chapter of *Tactics and Strategy of Defence in the Jiangnan Region*, 'Records of the Monk Soldiers' First Victory' (Sengbing Shoujie Ji). Shaolin monk Tianyuan led the troop with monks Yuekong and Wuji. They joined forces with Governor Han's private security force and the local garrison led by Commander Wang. The alliance eliminated a group of more than 160 enemies:

> On the fourth day of the sixth month, the troops were dispatched to Minhang Town. Censor Cai ordered the monk soldiers to be the outpost troop. On the eighth day, the monk soldiers arrived in Xinchang Town. The next day, they camped in Nanhuizui. On the tenth day, the cavalry was sent to patrol the Six Tuan. They spotted more than 100 enemies and chased them. The pirates abandoned five ships

and escaped. Their ships and shelter were burnt and destroyed. On the morning of the eleventh day, Commander Tianyuan and Captain Zhu decided to launch an assault against the enemy at the Eight Tuan. Captain Wuji and others camped in the Six Tuan. They joined Captain Zhu to patrol the Eight Tuan. Zhu's troops arrived at the Eight Tuan first. They killed 29 enemies. Meanwhile, Magistrate Dong Bangzheng's troops were defeated by the enemy and they lost more than 40 people. In the evening, headed by Captain Yang and Captain Fan, the monk soldiers camped outside Qiaotang Village. . . .

The next day, the scouts spotted the enemy in the Second and Third Tuan. Tianyuan led the troop to the First Tuan in the afternoon and they encountered the enemy. Tianyuan said: 'It is still early. Let's launch the assault.' He commanded 25 cavalry members to take the lead, followed by monk soldiers headed by Yuekong . . . the enemy threw out several parcels to distract them. Tianyuan ordered: 'Anyone who picks up the treasures will be executed.' No one dared ignore the order. Yuekong and Wuji lined up the monk soldiers in a snake shape. Governor Han and Commander Wang's soldiers followed them, leaving a space of 100 steps. The monk soldiers' military formation was as follows: in each squad, two soldiers with spears, followed by soldiers with iron staffs and sabres. Soldiers with crossbows and firearms were placed on the left and right. Everyone swallowed a pill of dian flower.

The pirates dared not try to break into the formation. Their leader King Zhao ordered them to attack. They took off their jackets. They put a door plank on the ground and supported it with spears. Two archers hid behind the plank and two other pirates supplied arrows for them. Forty pirates dressed in green lined up in the first row. The other 60, dressed in red, lined up on the left and right. They all prayed toward the sky and forced the hostage villagers to carry parcels and run toward the monk soldiers. The monks ignored the villagers and held their position. Commander Tianyuan ordered the cavalry to split from the middle, trying to attract the pirates into the formation. The pirates shot arrows. The monk soldiers shot back. Tianyuan ordered the monks to stop shooting.

Captain Wuji launched the assault. He called the name of the Buddha three times and then shouted, 'Kill! Kill!' Spear soldiers attacked the enemy first and the enemy wielded their swords to defend. Monk soldiers with hook spears stepped in and the archers started to shoot. Monks with iron staffs followed up and killed the pirates who had been brought to the ground by hook spears. They were backed up by monks with choppers. The enemy wanted to defend against the spears but were exposed to arrows. Many were brought down by hook spears as they could not protect their legs. The monks covered their faces with blue paint and wore red scarves. The pirates were scared,

as they believed the monks had been sent by the Buddha. Crossbows on the left and right started to fire. Led by Tianyuan, the cavalry surrounded the pirates from behind, followed by the archers and Governor Han's men. The pirates were defeated. Forty were beheaded. The pirates attempted to break the enclosure and the cavalry let them out. They hid in the Wang family's house. Monk soldiers set fire to the house. The pirates escaped from the house but got trapped in mud. The monks killed them with spears. Only 20 pirates escaped to their base, but they were soon surrounded. King Zhao's wife came out from the base. A monk jumped across the trench and killed the woman with a staff. It was already dusk. The monks retreated and camped a few miles away. The bandits came out in the evening and killed one scout and two archers, but the camp was secure.

On the fourteenth day, Tianyuan ordered everyone to stay in the camp to have their wounds treated. Seventy strong monks and 30 men from Governor Han's private security force formed a squad and discussed the plan to eliminate the pirates. Governor Han visited the camp and awarded Tianyuan a silver medal. They had achieved a glorious victory.

On the fifteenth day, Tianyuan led the troop to Jinshan. The pirates retreated to White Sand Beach in Jiaxing and hid in Wangjia Village. On the sixteenth day, the monk soldiers arrived at the village and were joined by Commander Tang's troops. They attacked the pirates with fire and killed more than 20 enemies. A further 20 enemies were killed when they tried to escape. All the pirates escaped from the Wengjia Port and those from the base were eliminated. . . .

Censor Cai stated before: 'Monk soldiers are very brave. They should be rewarded regardless of the number of enemies they have killed.' Tianyuan ordered everyone to follow this instruction. During the battles, Commander Han urged other soldiers to protect the monks. In total, only four monks, Liaoxin, Chetang, Yifeng and Zhenyuan, sacrificed their lives. The achievements of the monks and Governor Han's support should not be ignored. It was a brilliant success.[98]

The Shaolin monks' contribution to these battles helped the monastery to win the appreciation of the Ming court. After the pirate crisis, they were rewarded by the authorities for their military service and were instructed to continue their martial arts training and wait for new orders.[99] According to a Shaolin stele erected in 1573, the monastery was exempted from an additional tax worth 950 kg of rice by the Dengfeng County government.[100] In 1581, the monks sent an application to the Dengfeng County government requesting a tax exemption for their newly claimed land, and the request was approved. This is recorded in a stele erected in 1581:

> Shaolin monks made an appeal to this court. Since the beginning of our [Ming] dynasty, like the lay people, the monks have paid tax. In 1415, the Provincial Governor visited this county. He showed sympathy with the [Shaolin] monks and exempted them from tax and corvée. The farmland owned by Shaolin was returned to the county government and allocated to 18 farmer families [so the monks no longer needed to work on the land and pay tax].
>
> In the following decades, the monks reclaimed land on the mountain, but they can only get a tiny income from the land due to drought and floods. In the past years, recruited by the government, Shaolin monks took part in the battles against Liu Chong and Liu Chen, Wang Tang, Shi Shangzhao and the pirates. Several monks sacrificed their lives on battlefields. They deserve greater recognition for their heroic service. They were instructed to continue their martial arts training and to wait for new orders [for military operations] to arrive.
>
> Following the [recent] Imperial Order, we measured the land and recalculated the tax rate based on population. County Magistrate Liu Anxing intends to support Shaolin. We have checked the records and we acknowledge Shaolin monks' military service and heroic sacrifice. We are now issuing this order to Supervisor Monk Guangmei. Shaolin's farmland is exempted from tax. Tax officers should not collect tax from Shaolin without authorisation.[101]

In another two steles erected in 1591 and 1595, the Right Vice Censor-in-Chief of the Imperial Censorate and the Left Provincial Administration Vice-Commissioner of Henan confirmed that Shaolin Monastery had been exempted from all taxes.[102] The monks were again hailed for their military accomplishments:

> Liu Chong and Liu Chen, Wang Tang, Shi Shangzhao and the pirates brought chaos to the country. Warrior monks from this monastery answered the call of the government. They fought with courage and many sacrificed their lives. Monks of this monastery used both their scholarly talents and martial skills to protect the country.[103]

Battles against rebels and the pirates demonstrated the Shaolin monks' superior fighting skills and military capabilities. They helped Shaolin to expand its fame and identity outside the religious sphere and capture the attention of diverse segments of Ming society. Assisted by religious mysticism, this fame spread far and wide in the following decades, transforming Shaolin into a widely recognised centre of excellence for the martial arts.

Shaolin monks became so famous for their fighting skills that they were invited by local authorities and landowners to be instructors for local security forces and militias.[104] For example, in 1635, in response

to the threat of bandits and rebels, the governor of Shan Prefecture in Henan Province hired several Shaolin monks to train local security forces. The training seems to have been effective—in November 1635, the local authorities defeated a major bandit troop.[105]

The Golden Age of Shaolin Kung Fu

Between the seventh and fourteenth centuries, Shaolin developed as a centre of Chan Buddhism and its martial tradition remained almost dormant for more than six centuries. In this period, Chinese martial arts enjoyed steady development. By the Song and Yuan dynasties, facilitated by military reforms, urbanisation and commercialisation, a modern form of martial arts—a collection of weapon skills, combat techniques, wrestling, martial dances and performances—had taken shape. It was practised for various purposes, including military training, health promotion, self-defence, entertainment and sports-like competition.

The Ming dynasty was a golden age for Chinese martial arts. Zhu Yuanzhang, who rose to power through the military ranks, paid special attention to martial arts education. He launched reforms to integrate martial arts training into the school education system for the elite class. The Imperial Military Examinations, which were held during the Tang and Song dynasties but abolished during the Yuan dynasty, resumed in 1464 for the selection of army officers and commanders. Ideal candidates were expected to master the Confucian classics and comprehend military tactics and strategy. They would then be tested on archery, horse riding and fighting skills and be offered military positions based on their academic and martial performances.[106]

The Ming government's support for martial arts education and the restoration of the Imperial Military Examinations facilitated the development of martial arts at all levels. Street martial arts shows were performed by civilians during market days and festivals. Wrestling and hand-to-hand combat remained popular forms of entertainment, and the newly popular vernacular novels and Kun opera contributed to the building of a martial arts culture. Scenes of martial arts performances and contests were displayed in carved sculptures, murals and paintings, reflecting the popularity of martial arts among the general public and the ruling upper class.

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, facilitated by warfare and benefiting from the voluntary recruitment military system, martial arts reached a new level of development. An increasing number of military texts and manuals were composed by military commanders and experts to standardise martial arts techniques and training. For example, the staff, spear and fencing methods in Cheng Zongyou's *Skills Beyond Farming* (Gen Yu Sheng Ji) and the hand-to-hand combat methods in Qi Jiguang's *New Treatise on Military Efficiency* (Ji Xiao Xin Shu) make these one of the first illustrated manuals of martial arts forms in Chinese history.

These works also show that various schools/families of martial arts, such as Emei, Nanquan, Shaolin and Wudang, started to take shape.[107]

Prior to the Ming dynasty, Shaolin was portrayed by scholars as a peaceful and holy place for spiritual retreat. Chan Buddhism, the beautiful monastery and the breath-taking scenery of Mount Song were always the key themes. From the second half of the sixteenth century, Shaolin kung fu and Shaolin warrior monks began to appear in poems, essays, travelogues and historical writings, showing that Chan Buddhism was no longer the sole defining feature of Shaolin and that the monastery had established its reputation as a renowned centre of martial arts.

A poem entitled 'Watching a Martial Arts Performance in Shaolin' by Gong Nai (1558–1626), Vice-Minister of Rites and Scholar of the Imperial Academy during the Wanli Reign Period (1573–1620), offers a vivid picture of Shaolin monks performing kung fu:

> Shaolin is among the leading monasteries in China.
> Shaolin monks are young and talented.
> The brave monk soldiers have achieved brilliant victories,
> They have attained enlightenment.
> I travelled through Xuanyuan Valley of Mount Song during the Mid-Autumn Festival,
> And visited Shaolin in the early morning.
> The monastery is like a military camp;
> The monks assembled in the courtyard and stood upright like warriors.
> They took off their coats and rolled up their sleeves;
> You could see the supreme confidence in their eyes.
> They shouted loudly and launched lightning fast and powerful punches.
> As light as birds, they jumped high up in the sky.
> Their movements are smooth and fluid,
> Like the stream running though the valley and the bamboo leaves floating in the wind.
> As powerful as flying dragons,
> They scared away the fiercest animals.
> They showed amazing body flexibility,
> Like monkeys climbing the trees and rabbits running through the woods.
> They waited for opportunities, and initiated powerful attacks.
> As fast as wind, the shining spear and swords hit each other;
> Their shouting made the roof tiles tremble.
> Their powerful attacks could easily penetrate opponents' bodies and crush their bones,
> But their movements are so precise that the weapons never touch the skin.
> Shaolin kung fu has a long history and was passed down by generations.

Watching the monks perform kung fu, I felt excited and wanted to join them and have a try.
Shaolin's martial tradition started at the beginning of the Tang dynasty;
It is beneficial to the country.
I came here to hear the voice of the Buddha,
And was impressed by the monks' martial arts performance.
What their staff skills and palm strikes have reflected,
Are Jiashan's philosophy[108] and Huangbo's teachings.[109]
Visiting this holy place makes me feel full of joy.
Buddhist teachings have brought peace to my mind,
Like the gentle breeze and the sound of the stream filling the monastery.[110]

Another poem composed by renowned scholar-official Yuan Hongdao (1560–1610) describes a senior Shaolin monk who took part in military operations against rebels and the pirates in the mid-sixteenth century. What lies between the lines is a sense of courage, commitment and loyalty:

He returned to the Wuru peak,
With white hair and silver eyebrows.
Rejoining the battles in his dreams,
He is less interested in chanting scriptures.
He uses the iron staff as a pillow,
And has hung his kasaya on the pine tree.
Travelling through the forests and caves in Mount Song,
He is still eager to serve justice.[111]

Over the course of time, Shaolin built up its reputation as a leading centre of martial arts. Kung fu enthusiasts from around the country visited the monastery to observe and study this unique school of martial arts. Among them was General Yu Dayou, who had commanded the Ming army in the expeditions against the pirates.

Yu Dayou was born to a military family in Jinjiang (today's Quanzhou in Fujian Province). In his early years, he studied the *Book of Changes*, one of the five classics of Confucianism, and became a military and martial arts enthusiast. He inherited the title of Local Military Governor of a Hundred Households (Baihu) from his father and later passed the Imperial Military Examination in 1535. He then served as Local Military Governor of a Thousand Households (Qianhu) in Jinmen in Fujian.[112] He demonstrated his military talent in several campaigns against rebels in Guangdong Province, Guangxi Province and Qiongzhou Prefecture (today's Hainan Province) and was made Associate Military Chief of Ningbo and Taizhou prefectures in 1552. After winning a couple of battles against the pirates, Yu was promoted to Chief Military Commander (Zongbing) of Zhejiang Province in 1556. In the following years, he led the Ming army in expeditions against the pirates and rebels in Zhejiang,

Fujian and Guangdong provinces and achieved substantial victories. He earned a reputation as an upright and loyal official and was posthumously honoured by the imperial court as Left Commander in Chief (Zuo Dudu) and Accomplished Military Leader (Wuxiang).[113]

Yu Dayou, well known for his superior martial arts skills and military strategies, was the author of popular martial arts manuals and military treatises such as *Sword Classic* (Jian Jing)[114] and *Secret of Military Strategies* (Bingfa Fawei). In 1566, during an expedition against rebels in Heyuan and Wengyuan counties in Guangdong Province, Yu's troops passed through Henan and he paid a visit to Shaolin Monastery to observe the famous Shaolin kung fu. However, he was not impressed by the monks and instead demonstrated his own staff methods to them. Amazed by Yu's fighting skills, Shaolin monks became determined to learn from him. Two monks named Shi Zongqin and Shi Pucong followed him and spent three years learning his staff methods. They then returned to Shaolin and improved the Shaolin staff methods with the techniques they had learned.[115]

In 1577, Zongqin revisited Yu Dayou in the Shenji Battalion, a military unit that guarded the imperial capital Beijing. Yu gave Zongqin a copy of *Sword Classic* as a gift and wrote a poem for him:

> He has acquired the staff techniques that are powerful enough to fight off tigers,
> And comprehended the Chan teachings that can tame the dragon.
> He has travelled around the country,
> Down to Yue in the south and up to Yan in the north.[116]
> He can dive into the deep sea,
> And climb up to the top of the mountain.
> The pursuit of material gain is ultimately empty;
> Self-cultivation and spiritual enlightenment are the ultimate goal of life.[117]

In return, Zongqin wrote a poem to show his appreciation and respect to his mentor:

> I met [Yu Dayou] again in the Shenji Battalion;
> He exhorted and encouraged me.
> I shall practise *Sword Classic* with diligence,
> To obtain the power to fight the dragon.[118]

With the help and support of Yu Dayou, Shaolin received donations from officials in the Ming government to build the Shi Fang Chan Yuan Temple. In 1577, Yu was invited by the Shaolin monks to write the memorial text for the newly constructed temple. He explains in the text that he hopes Zongqin will be able to pass down his staff techniques to future generations and train more young talents to serve the country.[119]

A few decades later, a martial arts practitioner named Cheng Zongyou joined Shaolin. Cheng was born into a merchant family in Xiuning County, Anhui Province, in 1561. He became a martial arts enthusiast at an early age and was determined to become a martial arts master. During a business trip from Anhui to Beijing, he passed through Dengfeng County and decided to join Shaolin as a lay disciple to learn kung fu. He spent years in the monastery, studying staff methods with monks Shi Hongji, Shi Hongzhuan, Shi Zongxiang and Shi Zongdai.[120] He then left Shaolin and studied spear methods with Master Li Kefu from Henan Province and fencing techniques with Master Liu Yunfeng from Zhejiang Province.

In 1616, Chen Zongyou compiled *Elucidation of Shaolin Staff Methods* (Shaolin Gun Fa Chan Zong), a martial arts manual with detailed explanations of 53 postures constituting five different sets of Shaolin staff forms, including four one-man drills and one two-man drill: Small Yaksha (Xiao Yecha), Big Yaksha (Da Yecha), Yin Hand (Yin Shou), Row Staff (Pai Gun) and Criss-Cross Staff (Chuansuo) (see Figure 4.7). This martial arts manual, for the first time in history, documents Shaolin kung fu in the form of text and illustrations. Together with *Menglu Hall Spear Techniques*, composed by Cheng Zongyou's teacher, the monk Hongzhuan, which describes Shaolin staff techniques with text, *Elucidation of Shaolin Staff Methods* introduced Shaolin staff techniques to a wider audience and made it the most recognised form of Shaolin kung fu. Four hundred years after its publication, *Elucidation of Shaolin Staff Methods*

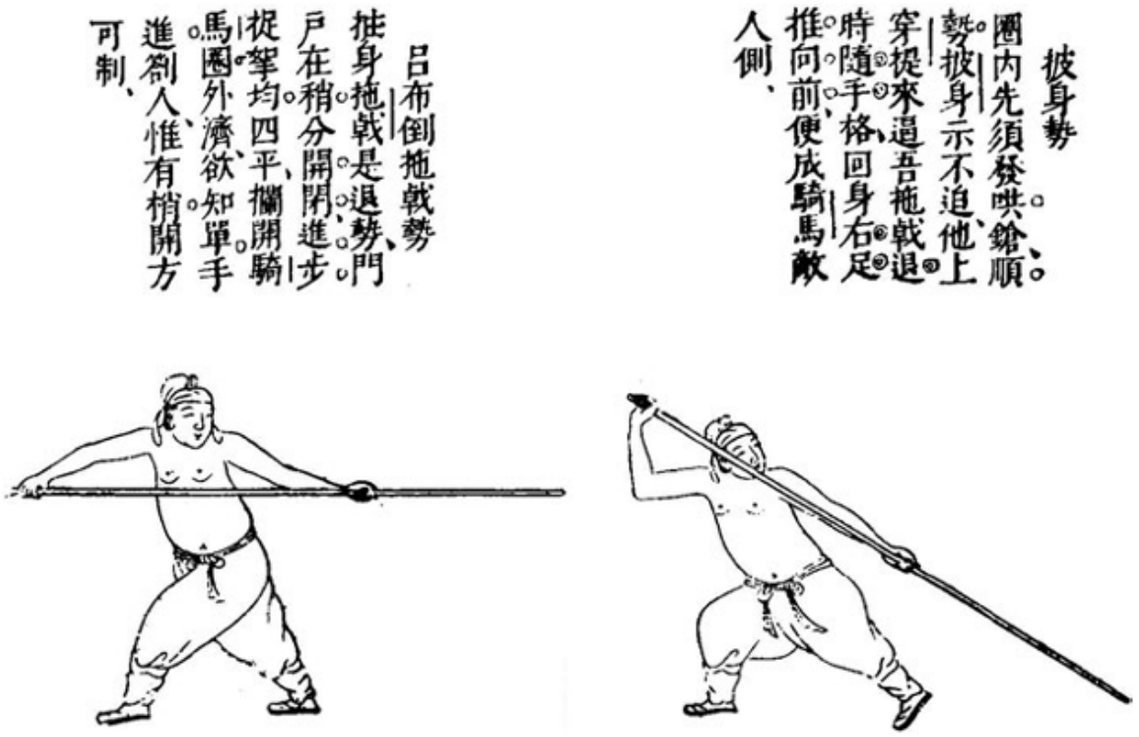

Figure 4.7 Cheng Zongyou's *Elucidation of Shaolin Staff Methods*[121]

Source: Courtesy of Shanxi Science and Technology Press.

remains one of the most popular and authentic Shaolin kung fu manuals. It has been republished multiple times and studied by martial arts enthusiasts around the world.[122]

Late Ming literature shows that by the end of the sixteenth century, Shaolin kung fu had firmly established itself in the martial arts community. The monastery's martial tradition was respected and applauded by the country's leading military leaders, martial artists and scholars. Military expert Mao Yuanyi commended: 'All martial arts styles are based on staff techniques. Staff techniques originated in Shaolin.'[123] General Yu Dayou affirmed: 'This monastery is world-renowned for its staff technique.'[124] Scholar-official Tang Shunzhi asserted: 'Shaolin monks have developed incredible martial arts skills; the unique Shaolin combat technique is among the top in the world.'[125] Famous neo-Confucian philosopher Huang Zongxi (1610–1695) commented: 'Shaolin kung fu is world-famous for its aggressive striking techniques.'[126]

While Shaolin kung fu gained mainstream popularity in China, it was also introduced to neighbouring countries and contributed to the development of martial arts in East Asia. In 1621, martial artist Chen Yuanyun (1587–1671), who had studied kung fu in Shaolin, escorted an imperial envoy to Japan.[127] He stayed in Japan and settled down in Kokushoji, a Buddhist temple in Azabu, Yedo (today's Tokyo), to teach boxing techniques. Among his students were three Ronin: Fukuno Hichiroemon, Isogai Jiozaemon and Miura Yojiemon.[128] By integrating Yuanyun's combat techniques with traditional Japanese martial arts, Fukuno and Miura developed two influential schools of ju-jitsu, a military combat form that originated in ancient Japan. From that point on, ju-jitsu started to gain mainstream popularity and spread across Japan. By the mid-nineteenth century, various schools of ju-jitsu had formed, laying the foundation for Japanese judo, which was created by Kanō Jigorō (1860–1938) in 1882.[129]

Cheng Zongyou observed:

> The warrior monks are a unique feature of Shaolin. They safeguard the monastery and protect the dharma. Shaolin sits between two mountains, one scholarly and one martial. Staff techniques and Chan Buddhism developed alongside each other. Shaolin's reputation is well known throughout the country.[130]

Since the late Ming dynasty, kung fu has been regarded as part of Chan practice in Shaolin. The unity of Chan and kung fu has made Shaolin stand out among thousands of Buddhist monasteries in China.

The special relationship between kung fu and Chan is illustrated in the stories of Bodhidharma introducing qi gong exercises to Shaolin monks. In 1624, Daoist priest Zong Heng compiled a qi gong manual entitled *Muscle Development Classic* (Yi Jin Jing).[131] According to the two prefaces

by Tang dynasty General Li Jing (571–649) and Song dynasty General Niu Gao (1087–1147), Bodhidharma faced the wall and practised meditation in a cave on top of Wuru Peak, northwest of Shaolin Monastery, for nine years (see Figure 4.8). After he left the cave, the Shaolin monks discovered two qi gong exercise manuals composed by him inside an iron chest in the cave. One was entitled *Muscle Development Classic*, and the other was called *Tendon Washing Classic* (Xi Sui Jing). *Tendon Washing Classic* was taken by Bodhidharma's senior disciple Shi Huike (487–593), while *Muscle Development Classic* was collected by other monks. *Muscle Development Classic* was later translated into Chinese by the Indian monk Paramiti.

Qi gong is a system of bodily and spiritual practice with the purpose of aligning the body, breath and mind in order to achieve physiological and psychological balance and to cultivate and balance qi, the fundamental life energy of traditional Chinese medicine and philosophy.[132] The exercises in *Muscle Development Classic* are a form of external qi gong that focuses on the building of qi energy in the limbs to coordinate with physical martial techniques. It requires the practitioner to energise the qi and open up the channels for qi circulation throughout the body. The practice was said to increase strength and speed significantly and, at the same time, reinforce the bones, muscles and skin and help the body to resist attacks from external forces. Many famous Shaolin kung fu techniques, such as Shaolin Hard Qi Gong (Shaolin Ying Qigong) and Shaolin Iron Shirt (Shaolin Tiebushan), are based on this theory.

Tendon Washing Classic deals with internal qi gong, which generates and regulates qi energy in the body. The exercises limit muscle usage and aim to improve flexibility and help breathing. Body and mind are purified through regulating qi. *Muscle Development Classic* and *Tendon Washing Classic* were said to be designed to work together to help the practitioner develop a strong body and an effective immune system, to maintain health and fitness.

Some popular late Qing dynasty kung fu manuals assert that for centuries Shaolin monks practised with *Muscle Development Classic* to build up physical strength and stamina, improve coordination and enhance mental concentration, which in turn helped with Chan practice.

Unlike early forms of Buddhism which were heavily focused on literacy, Chan is oriented around the practice of meditation and emphasises the direct and embodied realisation of Buddhist awakening: 'Achievement comes from the mind through contemplation.'[133] Like Chan meditation, learning and training in martial arts requires dedication, patience, persistence and determination. The practitioner's martial arts skills reach perfection only when he/she sees the nature of the mind.[134] Intense practice eventually leads to revelation and free control of the body and mind. It was believed that martial arts practice and Chan cultivation complemented each other. This dialectical relationship is explained in *Key*

Figure 4.8 The Shaolin Monastery Stele: 'Bodhidharma Facing the Wall.' Erected During the Wanli Reign Period of the Ming Dynasty (1572–1620).

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

Figure 4.9 Sculpture of Muscle Development Classic Postures, Shaolin Monastery.
Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

Principles of Shaolin Kung Fu (Shaolin Quanshu Mijue), a popular kung fu manual published in 1915:

> It was widely believed that the Eighteen Arhat Hands[135] was invented by Bodhidharma. After Bodhidharma arrived in this monastery [Shaolin], he discovered that the monks looked spiritless and physically weak. Once he started teaching, many of the monks couldn't concentrate. Bodhidharma spoke to them all: 'Buddhism is beyond the human body. However, the soul cannot be separated from the flesh if you cannot understand your own body. In order to discover the soul, one must build up the physique first. A solid vessel can help you to understand your soul. Without a strong body and a strong will, one might easily let the devil in and get lost in meditation. Now I am giving you this body exercise method. You should practise this every morning to help in meditation.'[136]

The link between martial arts practice and Chan meditation is further explained in another story of a Shaolin monk teaching combat skills to his disciples:

> Since Bodhidharma invented these martial arts exercises, people have mistakenly believed that Chan monasteries are martial arts academies. Some have thought that we practise martial arts after Chan meditation for leisure purposes. Bodhidharma invented these exercises because our bodies are vessels for our souls. One must train the body and soul together in order to achieve the highest state of enlightenment. If you think these exercises are just basic training for beginners to build up their physique, you are completely wrong . . .[137]

According to these stories, the primary concern of Shaolin kung fu was to assist the cultivation and realisation of the practitioner's body, soul and spirit, and therefore were integral parts of Chan practice. However, the authenticity of *Muscle Development Classic* has been questioned by historians. Historical evidence shows that its two prefaces are forgeries and suggests that Bodhidharma's invention of *Muscle Development Classic*, *Tendon Washing Classic* and the Eighteen Arhat Hands are merely made-up stories. The truth is that late Ming and early Qing dynasty martial arts practitioners and writers created legendary stories based on Bodhidharma's life to increase the mysterious nature of Shaolin kung fu and enhance its reputation.[138]

Despite this, there is little doubt that from the late Ming dynasty on, kung fu became an important part of monastic life in Shaolin. Although the centre of Caodong Chan shifted away from Shaolin in the following centuries, the martial arts tradition had been passed down and had grown into a distinguishing feature that helped Shaolin to maintain its popularity, both in the religious world and among the general public.

The Collapse of Ming and the Fall of Shaolin

After eliminating the peasant rebellions and resolving the pirate crisis, peace had been restored by the 1560s. Thanks to a series of economic, political and military reforms carried out by statesman Zhang Juzheng (1525–1582), Grand Secretary of the imperial court and chief advisor to Emperor Muzong (1537–1572) and Emperor Shenzong (1563–1620), China enjoyed a few decades of prosperity during the second half of the sixteenth century.

After Zhang Juzheng died, officials formed opposing political factions and competed against the eunuchs for power, while the emperor became alienated from court affairs. By the 1590s, the Ming court was encountering considerable domestic and foreign turbulence. In 1582, a mutiny broke out in Ningxia which took government forces three months to quash. In the same year, Korea was invaded by Japan and the Ming court sent its army to assist Korea. In 1590, a hereditary Miao chieftain named Yang Yinglong (1551–1600) rose to challenge Ming rule and

launched uprisings. Over 200,000 troops were dispatched to eliminate the rebellion.[139]

The financial drain of these wars contributed to the weakening of the Ming dynasty. After the death of Emperor Shenzong in 1620, the two teenage emperors Xizong (1605–1627) and Sizong (1611–1644) failed to make any progress in resolving the fiscal crisis and political turmoil. The situation was worsened by the widespread drought and floods caused by the Little Ice Age, which resulted in famine and epidemics in the 1630s, triggering large-scale peasant uprisings.[140]

Economic crisis, internal uprisings and Jurchen invasions eventually led to the collapse of the Ming empire. In the northeast, Jurchen chieftain Nurhachi (1559–1626) united various tribes and founded the Later Jin dynasty in 1616. He then launched expeditions against the Ming. His successor Huang Taiji (1592–1643) changed the name of the dynasty from Later Jin to Great Qing in 1636. From then on, the Jurchen people became known as the Manchus. In the following years, the Manchus defeated the Ming army in several major battles, and by the early 1640s they had stationed their troops outside the Great Wall, waiting for an opportunity to launch the final conquest.

In southwestern China, rebel leader Zhang Xianzhong (1606–1647) rose to power in Shaanxi Province in the 1630s. He captured Wuchang, the provincial capital of Hubei Province, in 1643 and proclaimed himself the Great King of the West.

In northwestern China, a soldier named Li Zicheng (1606–1645) launched a mutiny in Yuzhong County (in today's Gansu Province) in 1629. By the early 1640s he had gained control over much of central northern China. After declaring himself Emperor of the Shun dynasty in Xi'an in January 1644, he launched the northern expedition and captured Beijing in May 1644. Facing the advancing Manchu army, Li Zicheng abandoned Beijing and retreated. The Manchu troops entered Beijing in June 1644. In October, Prince Fulin (1638–1661) was crowned Emperor of the Qing dynasty, marking the beginning of the Manchu era.

While the dynastic cycle played out again, Shaolin was caught up in political turbulence. In 1639, Minister of Military Affairs Yang Sichang (1588–1641) launched an expedition against Zhang Xianzhong's rebel forces. According to a Shaolin stele erected in 1677, six monks from Shaolin's Guard Division joined Yang Sichang's troops and took part in battles against rebels in Shaanxi, Huguang and Hunan provinces.[141] They were from the sixteenth (Dao), seventeenth (Qing), eighteenth (Tong) and nineteenth (Xuan) generations of Fuyu's Shaolin patriarch clan.[142]

Meanwhile, following a severe famine caused by drought, farmers and miners in Henan and Shaanxi provinces launched uprisings in late 1639. Li Jiyu (?–1647) from Mogou Village in Dengfeng was one of the rebel leaders. After offending a tax officer and being punished

by the magistrate of Dengfeng, he rose in rebellion and established a fortress in Mount Song. Allied with other rebel forces, he attacked and looted the local authorities and rich landlords. As a major landlord in the Mount Song region and a loyal military force to the Ming government, Shaolin Monastery was targeted and attacked by Li Jiyu's forces in around 1641. The incident is recorded in *Assorted Offerings of Central China* (Zhongzhou Za Zu), compiled by early Qing historian Wang Jie:

> During the Chongzhen Reign period (1611–1644), banditry rose across the country. Li Jiyu assembled thousands of people in the Mount Song region and established a fortress in the mountain. They hated Shaolin monks and saw them as their biggest threat. Li Jiyu pretended to be friendly with Shaolin and offered a tribute to the abbot to win his trust. The monks trusted him and decided not to resist his forces. One day, the bandits requested that Shaolin monks perform a ritual for Li Jiyu on his birthday. [On the day] all the monks performed fasting and purification rituals. They burned incense and chanted the sutras. Led by Li Jiyu, a few hundred armed men rushed into the monastery. The monks were conducting the ceremony in the dharma hall. The bandits slaughtered all of them.[143]

In the following years, Li Jiyu grew into the most powerful warlord in the region. He allied with Li Zicheng and captured Dengfeng City in 1642. After the fall of the Ming dynasty, he was made military governor of Henan by the Southern Ming government in 1644. He surrendered to the Qing government in 1645 but was executed in 1647 when suspected of being part of a conspiracy.[144]

Shaolin fell into a long period of decline. The sense of decay is described by Wang Jie as follows:

> There were only a couple of senior monks left in the monastery. They ordered the young Buddhist candidates [Shami] to demonstrate boxing and staff forms. The performance was no better than those by beggars and street entertainers.[145]

When the famous late Ming and early Qing scholar Gu Yanwu visited Shaolin in 1679, he was hugely disappointed:

> There were barely any visitors. The monastery was like an abandoned farmland. Bees made their hives in empty Buddha halls; the courtyard was overgrown with weeds . . . there were not so many monks in the monastery, and they were struggling to feed themselves. Reincarnation is universal.[146]

Dengfeng County Magistrate Ye Feng (1624–1687) also observes in a poem:

> After suffering chaos, there were only a few monks left.
> Sitting in the evening and enjoying the silence.
> The sound of water drops was echoed by the ancient Buddha halls.
> The monastery's brilliant history was illustrated in countless steles.[147]

Conclusion

During the first half of the Ming dynasty, thanks to supportive government religious policies and a stable social environment, Buddhism and other mainstream religions enjoyed a long period of steady development. The three teachings integrated. Chan remained the dominant form of Buddhism, and the Caodong school and the Linji school continued to flourish.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, supported by lay patrons and the Ming government, Shaolin soon recovered from the destruction brought by the Red Turbans in the late Yuan dynasty era. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Shaolin held its position as the centre of Caodong Chan.

Starting from the early sixteenth century, against a background of social unrest and widespread rebellions, the development of Buddhist studies was no longer the sole concern of Shaolin. The monks became involved in politics and served the Ming government as a loyal military force. Their participation in battles against rebels and the pirates helped Shaolin extend its fame and identity outside the religious world and capture the attention of diverse segments of Ming society. Assisted by religious mysticism, this fame transformed Shaolin from a centre of Buddhist studies into a major player in the martial arts community.

When the Ming dynasty began to fall apart in the late 1630s, Shaolin monks were again assembled by the government to join military expeditions against rebels. As a major landowner and a loyal military force to the authorities, the monastery was targeted and attacked by a local rebel-bandit force, and thereafter fell into decay.

Notes

1. In Chinese Buddhism, Vairocana is the Dharma Body of the Shakyamuni Buddha.
2. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1625: 'Shaolin guan wu' (Watching the martial arts performance in Shaolin). English translation by author.
3. Cheng Shao was the Grand Coordinator of Henan Province.
4. Anting Xin, *Zhongguo lishi renwu* (Chinese historical figures) (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chuban she, 1983), 222.
5. Si Xiang, *Lichao huanggong baoji* (Imperial classics in dynastic China) (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chuban she, 2002), 33.

6. Jie Ren and Ling Liang, *Zhongguo de zongjiao zhengce: Cong gudai dao dangdai* (China's religious policies: From ancient to modern times) (Beijing: Minzu chuban she, 2006), 221.
7. Xia Li, *Daojia yu Zhongguo zhexue* (Daoism and Chinese philosophy) (Beijing: Renmin chuban she, 2004), 432.
8. Ren and Liang, *Zhongguo de zongjiao zhengce*, 228.
9. Yuming Duan, *Zhongguo simiao wenhua* (Chinese monasteries and temples) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chuban she, 1994), 89.
10. Xuan Liu and An Zhi, *Zhongguo Chan si* (Chan monasteries in China) (Beijing: Zhongguo yanshi chuban she, 2005), 178.
11. Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 68–70; Baoliang Chen, 'Mingdai ru fo dao de heliu ji qi shisu hua' (The unity and secularisation of the three teachings during the Ming dynasty), *Zhejiang Xuekan*, no. 2 (2002): 153.
12. Morris Rossabi, *Blackwell History of the World: A History of China* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 258.
13. William M. Johnston, ed., *Encyclopedia of Monasticism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), 1427.
14. Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 103.
15. Hongjun Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si* (Shaolin Monastery of Mount Song) (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chuban she, 2001), 69.
16. The entrance hall and Guan Yu's statue were destroyed in the early twentieth century. See: Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 171.
17. Dachao Tang, 'Shilun Chanzong zai Ming Qing shi de bianyi' (The transformation of Chan Buddhism during the Ming and Qing dynasties), *Foxue yanjiu* (Buddhist studies) 4, no. 1 (1995): 121.
18. Also known as Chushi Fanqi (楚石梵琦).
19. Also known as Xiaoyan Debao (笑岩德宝).
20. Also known as Miyun Yuanwu (密云圆悟) or Tiantong Yuanwu (天童圆悟).
21. Also known as Yumi Faxzang (汉月法藏).
22. Also known as Dahui Zonggao (大慧宗杲).
23. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. and Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 416.
24. Buswell, Jr. and Lopez, Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 416.
25. Jiwen Du, *Fojiao shi* (History of Buddhism) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chuban she, 1991), 513; Ming Hui, *Yici wanquan dudong Fojing* (Comprehend Buddhist classics) (Taipei: Haige wenhua chuban tushu youxian gongsi, 2011), 28.
26. Also known as Songxi Ziding (松溪子定).
27. Also known as Songting Ziyan (松庭子严).
28. Also known as Ningran Liaogai (凝然了改).
29. Amitābha is the Buddha of the Pure Land of Perfect Bliss in the west.
30. Bhaiṣajyaguru is the Buddha of medicine and healing.
31. Xizhi Shan, 'Chongzhuang foxiang bei jielue' (Rebuild the Buddha statues), in *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaoli), ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 117–118.
32. 'Chong xiu shaolin si ji' (Renovation of Shaolin Monastery), in *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin), ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 91.
33. Yucheng Wen, *Shaolin fanggu* (Explore the history of Shaolin) (Tianjin: Baihua Literature and Art Publishing House, 1999), 290.
34. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 10.

35. Also known as Jukong Qibin (俱空契斌).
36. Also known as Wufang Kecong (无方可从).
37. Also known as Yuezhou Wenzai (月舟文载).
38. Also known as Xiaoshan Zongshu (小山宗书).
39. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1512: 'Chong xiu Shaolin si ji' (Renovation of Shaolin Monastery), 92–93; The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1553: 'Chong xiu chuzu an ji' (Renovation of the First Patriarch Temple); The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1565: 'Chong xiu erzu an ji' (Renovation of the Second Patriarch Temple); Bao Yu, 'Chong jian chantang ji' (Renovation of the Chan Hall), in *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin), ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 121–122; Yuanshan Jia, 'Chong xiu fatang bei minwen bulu' (Renovation of the Scripture Hall), in *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin), ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 120.
40. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1729: 'Chong xiu zhoufu an dadian jinzhuang shenxiang ji' (Rebuild the main hall of the Zhoufu Temple and restore the golden Buddha statue).
41. The Yongle Emperor Zhu Di (1360–1424) ordered the printing of the *Yongle Bei Zang* (Yongle Northern Edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, or Yongle North Tripitaka). The printing work started in 1419 and concluded in 1440. In total, there were 636 cases and 1621 scriptures (6,361 volumes). Copies of the *Yongle Bei Zang* were distributed to major Buddhist monasteries around the country. In 1584, Empress Dowager Xiaoding (1545–1614) ordered the printing of the *Xu Ru Zang Jing* (Collection of supplementary canonical texts), adding an addition of 41 cases and 36 scriptures (410 volumes) to the *Yongle Bei Zang*.
42. 'Ming wanli di ban shaolin si zhao' (Imperial order issued by the Wanli Emperor), in *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin), ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 85.
43. Hao Tang, *Shaolin quanshu mijue kaozheng* (A study of the key principles of Shaolin kung fu) (Taiyuan: Shanxi kexue jishu chuban she, 2008), 70.
44. Derong Ye, 'Lun Handi sengren zongtong jiegou—yi Songshan Shaolin si wei li' (The clan system of Han Buddhist monks: The case of Shaolin at Mount Song), in *Shaolin xuewei lunwen ji* (Shaolin studies essay collection), ed. Yongxin Shi (Beijing: Religious Culture Publisher, 2015), 179.
45. Also known as Yunan Jungong (芸庵均公).
46. The Shaolin Pagoda of 1597: 'Chi ci Shaolin si Du tiju qian shu Senghui si yin Jungong Yunan ling ta' (By Imperial Order, Supervisor-in-Chief of Shaolin Monastery Jungong Yunan's pagoda).
47. The Three Cardinal Guides: ruler guides subject, father guides son and husband guides wife; The Five Constant Virtues: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and fidelity.
48. Five grains: soybeans, wheat, broomcorn, foxtail millet and rice.
49. The Nine Schools 九流 are the primary schools of the Hundred Schools of Thought developed from the eighth to the third centuries BC: Confucians, Daoists, Yin Yang, Legalists, Logicians, Mohists, Political Strategists, Eclectics and Agriculturists.
50. The Hundred Schools of Thought (Zhuzi Baijia) were philosophies and schools that developed in China during the Spring and Autumn period (771–476 BC) and the Warring States period from the fifth century BC to 221 BC.
51. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1565: 'Hunyuan sanjiao jiuliu tu zan bei' (Illustration of the unity of three teachings and nine schools).
52. Also known as Huanxiu Changrun (幻休常润).

53. Also known as Linshan Changzhong (廩山常忠).
54. Also known as Wuyan Zhengdao (无言正道).
55. Also known as Qingliang Fangnian (清凉方念).
56. Also known as Zhuyuan Hongduan (诸缘洪断).
57. Also known as Jingtang Fazhong (敬堂法忠).
58. Huachuan Ji, *Zhongguo Fojiao yu Chanzong* (Chinese Buddhism and Chan) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chuban she, 2008), 126.
59. Also known as Zhanran Yuancheng (湛然圆澄).
60. Daoru Wei, *Zhonghua Fojiao shi: Song Yuan Ming Qing fojiao shi juan* (History of Chinese Buddhism: Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties) (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chuban she, 2013), 298–299; Yonghai Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao baike quanshu: Lishi juan* (Encyclopaedia of Chinese Buddhism: History) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 2000), 353.
61. Bing Chen, *Fojiao Chanxue yu Dongfang wenming* (Chan Buddhism and Eastern civilisation) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chuban she, 1992), 87.
62. Also known as Wuming Huijing (无明慧经).
63. Wu and Xu, *Chanzong zongpai yuanliu*.
64. Jiwen Du and Daoru Wei, *Zhongguo Chanzong tongshi* (History of Chinese Chan Buddhism) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chuban she, 1993), 539.
65. Victor F. S. Sit, *Chinese City and Urbanism: Evolution and Development* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Company, 2010), 200.
66. The Hongwu Emperor (1328–1398) became emperor at the age of 40 and died at age 69; the Jianwen Emperor (1377-?) ascended to the throne at the age of 21; the Yongle Emperor (1360–1424) ascended to the throne at the age of 42 and died at age 64; the Hongxi Emperor (1378–1425) ascended to the throne at the age of 44 and died at age 46; the Xuande Emperor (1399–1435) ascended to the throne at the age of 26 and died at age 35; the Zhengtong/Chenghua Emperor (1427–1464) ascended to the throne at the age of 8 and died at age 36; the Jingtai Emperor (1428–1457) ascended to the throne at the age of 21 and died at age 28; the Hongzhi Emperor (1470–1505) ascended to the throne at the age of 17 and died at age 34; the Zhengde Emperor (1491–1521) ascended to the throne at the age of 14 and died at age 29; the Jiajing Emperor (1507–1567) ascended to the throne at the age of 14 and died at age 59; the Longqing Emperor (1537–1572) ascended to the throne at the age of 30 and died at age 35; the Wanli Emperor (1563–1620) ascended to the throne at the age of 9 and died at age 56; the Taichang Emperor (1582–1620) ascended to the throne at the age of 38 and died at age 38; the Tianqi Emperor (1605–1627) ascended to the throne at the age of 15 and died at age 21; the Chongzhen Emperor (1611–1644) ascended to the throne at the age of 16 and died at age 33.
67. Shouyi Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao* (An outline history of China) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chuban she, 1980), 192.
68. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 192–193.
69. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 193–194.
70. Bai, *Zhongguo tongshi gangyao*, 195.
71. Also known as Sanqi Yougong (三奇友公).
72. Weiliang Zhou, 'Ming Qing shiqi Shaolin wushu de lishi liubian' (The transformation of Shaolin kung fu in the Ming and Qing dynasties), *Sports Culture Guide*, no. 1 (2004): 69.
73. The Shaolin Pagoda of 1548: 'Chi ci da shaolin chan si, chi ming "tianxia duishou, jiaohui, wuseng." Zhengde nianjian meng qing qu qu xuan diao, zhengshou shan shan deng buzhengbian, jing yu feng du tidiao zongbing, tongren Yunnan lie bing kou guan, shang yougong sanqi heshang zhi shou ta Zhouyou' (Monk of Three Outstanding Services).

74. The Shaolin Pagoda of 1548: 'Chi ci da shaolin chan si, chi ming "tianxia duishou, jiaohui, wuseng"'.
75. Roger V. Des Forges, *Cultural Centrality and Political Change in Chinese History: Northeast Henan in the Fall of the Ming* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 174.
76. Also known as Zhufang Cangong (竺方参公).
77. *Liutao* (The six secret teachings) is a military classic compiled during the Warring States period (fifth century BC–221 BC). It contains six chapters: 1. Wentao (Civil secret teaching); 2. Wutao (Martial secret teaching); 3. Longtao (Dragon secret teaching of military organisation); 4. Hutao (Tiger secret teaching of military equipment); 5. Baotao (Leopard secret teaching of tactical solutions); 6. Quantao (Canine secret teaching of component forces chariots, infantry and cavalry). See: Dongling Sheng, 'Liutao' (The six secret teachings), in *Zhongguo da baike quanshu: Zhongguo lishi* (Chinese Encyclopaedia: Chinese history), ed. Editorial Board of the Chinese Encyclopaedia, vol. 2 (Beijing/Shanghai: Chinese Encyclopaedia Press, 1992), 616–617.
78. The Shaolin Pagoda of 1575: 'Chi ci Shaolin Chan si tidian Cangong Zhufang heshang shouta' (Pagoda of Superintendent Monk Shi Zhoucan of the Shaolin Chan Monastery).
79. In the inscriptions on Shaolin steles and pagodas, monks famous for their Buddhist teachings were normally referred to as 'Chan Master' (Chanshi), 'Grand Master' (Dashi) or 'Dharma Master' (Fashi). 'Instructor' or 'Teacher' (Jiaoshi) was the title for the head or instructor of warrior monks. See: Baojun Zhao, *Shaolin si* (Shaolin Monastery) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chuban she, 1982), 104; Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 137.
80. The Shaolin Pagoda of 1564: 'Chi ci Da Shaolin Chan si zhuangyan yuanji qin jiaoshi Jiugong Tianzhu heshang zhi ta' (By Imperial Order, Instructor Tianzhu Jiugong's pagoda).
81. Also known as Tianyi Guangzhu (天衣广助) or Tianyi Zhugong (天衣助公).
82. The Shaolin Pagoda of 1582: 'Chi ci Shaolin Chan si yuanji jiaoshou zhugong tianyi heshang zhi ta' (By Imperial Order, Instructor Tianyi Zhugong of the Shaolin Chan Monastery).
83. Also known as Dazhen Wulei (大震悟雷) or Dazhen Leigong (大震雷公).
84. The Shaolin Pagoda of 1583: 'Yuanji qin jiaoshi bensi dutiju leigong dazhen heshang zhi ta' (By Imperial Order, Instructor Dazhen Leigong, Supervisor-in-Chief of the Shaolin Chan Monastery).
85. Also known as Benle Wuzong (本乐宗武) or Benle Wugong (本乐武公).
86. The Shaolin Pagoda of 1619: 'Chi ci shaolin chan si jiaoshoushi wugong benle heshang xiang shou sishiyi zhi ta' (By Imperial Order, Instructor Benle Wugong of the Shaolin Chan Monastery. Aged 41).
87. Also known as Wanan Tongshun (万庵同顺) or Wanan Shungong (万庵顺公).
88. The Shaolin Pagoda of 1619: 'Chi ci Shaolin Chan si du tiju zhengzhan you gong Shungong Wanan heshang xiang shou qi shi si zhi ta' (By Imperial Order, Monk Wanan Shungong, Supervisor-in-Chief of the Shaolin Chan Monastery, who was honoured for his military service. Aged 74).
89. Also known as Dacai Pubian (大才普遍) or Dacai Biangong (大才遍公).
90. The Shaolin Pagoda of 1625: 'Chi ci zuting da Shaolin Chan si en zu zhengzhan you gong Dacai Biangong shou bas hi san sui ben da heshang zhi ling ta' (Shaolin Pagoda of 1625: By Imperial Order, Monk Pubian of the Cradle of Chan—Grand Shaolin Chan Monastery, who was honoured for his military service. Aged 83).
91. Chinese Civilisation Centre, ed., *China: Five Thousand Years of History and Civilisation* (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2007), 99.

92. Dali Cheng and Weiqi He, 'Shaolin seng bing kang wo shiji kao' (Study of Shaolin soldier monks' contribution to the battles against the wokou), *Zhonghua wushu*, no. 9 (2003): 20–22.
93. Guozhen Zhu, *Yong Zhuang xiao pin* (Miscellaneous notes from the Yongzhuang pavilion), vol. 2 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chuban she, 1998), 685.
94. Wan Biao, courtesy name: Luyuan.
95. Ruoceng Zheng, *Jiangnan jing lue* (Tactics and strategy of defense in the Jiangnan region), vol. 8–2 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Library, China-America Digital Academic Library), 16–17.
96. Zheng, *Jiangnan jing lue*, 17.
97. Yu, *The History of Traditional Chinese Wushu*, 251.
98. Zheng, *Jiangnan jing lue*, Jiangnan jing lue, vol. 8–2, 19–22.
99. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1581: 'Huomian liangchai' (Tax Exemption).
100. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1573: 'Huomian liangchai' (Tax Exemption).
101. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1581: 'Huomian liangchai' (Tax Exemption).
102. The Shaolin Stele of 1591: 'Huomian liangchai' (Tax Exemption); The Shaolin Stele of 1595: 'Huomian liangchai' (Tax Exemption).
103. The Shaolin Stele of 1595: 'Huomian liangchai' (Tax Exemption).
104. Zhao, *Shaolin si*, 106.
105. Zhao, *Shaolin si*, 106.
106. Pixiang Qiu, ed., *Zhongguo wushu shi* (A history of Chinese martial arts) (Beijing: Higher Education Press, 2008), 108.
107. Wang Guangxi, *Chinese Kung Fu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 13–22.
108. Shi Shanhui (?–881), also known as Jiashan Shanhui (夹山善会), was a renowned southern school Chan master who lived during the Tang dynasty.
109. Shi Xiyun (?–850), also known as Huangbo Xiyun (黄蘗希运), was a renowned southern school Chan master who lived during the Tang dynasty.
110. Nian Gong, 'Shaolin guan seng bi wu ge' (Watching martial arts performance in Shaolin), in *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin), ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 208–210. English translation by author.
111. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 199. English translation by author.
112. Tingyu Zhang, *Ming shi* (History of Ming), vol. 24 (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chuban she, 2004), 4277.
113. Zhang, *Ming shi*, 4277.
114. *Sword Classic* is an illustrated staff-fighting manual produced by Yu Dayou.
115. Dayou Yu, 'Shi song Shaolin si seng Zong Qin you xu' (Essay and poem for the Shaolin Monk Zong Qin), in *Shaolin si yu Zhongguo wenhua* (Shaolin and Chinese Culture), Changqing Xu (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji Press, 1993), 218–219.
116. During the three years of military expeditions with Yu Dayou.
117. Yu, 'Shi song shaolin si seng Zong Qin you xu', 219. English translation by author.
118. Wen, *Shaolin shihua*, 199. English translation by author.
119. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1577: 'Xin jian shi fang chan yuan bei' (Renovation of the Shifang Chan Temple).
120. Zhenzhong Wang, 'Shaolin wushu yu hui shang ji Ming Qing yi huan de huizhou shehui' (Shaolin wushu, Hui businessmen and Huizhou society in the Ming and Qing dynasties), *Huixue* (2004): 95.
121. Zongyou Chen, *Shaolin gunfa chanzong* (Elucidation of Shaolin staff methods) (Xi'an: Shanxi keji chuban she, 2006), 74–75.
122. Zongyou Cheng, *Shaolin gun fa chan zong* (Elucidation of Shaolin staff methods) (Shanghai: Zhongxi Book Company, 1932); Chongdou Cheng,

Shaolin gun qiang dao chan zong (Elucidation of Shaolin staff, spear and fencing methods) (Taipei: Hualian Press, 1969); Zongyou Cheng, *Shaolin gun qiang fa chan zong* (Elucidation of Shaolin staff and spear methods) (Hong Kong: Chan Sheung Kee Book Store, 1972); Chongdou Cheng, *Shaolin gun qiang dao chan zong* (Elucidation of Shaolin staff, spear and fencing methods) (Tainan: Dafu Book Company, 1977); Chongdou Chen, *Shaolin gun qiang dao chan zong* (Elucidation of Shaolin staff, spear and fencing methods) (Taipei: Hualian Press, 1982); Chongdou Cheng, *Shaolin gun tu jie* (Shaolin staff methods with illustrations) (Taipei: Hualian Press, 1983); Chongdou Cheng, *Shaolin gun fa chan zong* (Elucidation of Shaolin staff methods) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Science and Technology Press, 2006); Zongyou Cheng, *Shaolin gun fa chan zong* (Shaolin staff elucidation of Shaolin staff methods). Translated by Jack Chen, www.chineselongsword.com (accessed 7 November 2016).

123. Guangxi Wang, *Gongfu: Zhongguo wushu wenhua* (Kung fu: Chinese wushu culture) (Taipei: Yunlong Press, 2002), 13.
124. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1577: 'Xin jian shi fang chan yuan bei' (Renovation of the Shifang Chan Temple).
125. Shunzhi Tang, 'Emei Dao ren quan ge' (Boxing song of the Taoist monk at Mount Emei), in *Xiyu nanhai shi di yanjiu*, Ting Wang (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chuban she, 2005), 284.
126. Zongxi Huang, 'Wang Zhengnan mu zhi ming' (The epitaph for Wang Zhengnan), in *Si bu cong kan chu bian ji bu*, vol. 6 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1929), 75–76.
127. Wenshun Zhou and Ningsheng Xu, eds., *Heluo wenhua* (Heluo culture) (Beijing: Wuzhou chuanbo chuban she, 1998), 347.
128. Jigoro Kano, *Mind over Muscle: Writings from the Founder of Judo* (New York: Kodansha USA, 2013), 13.
129. Kano, *Mind over Muscle*, 7.
130. Zongyou Cheng, *Elucidation of Shaolin Staff Method*s (Shaolin gun fa chan zong) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Science and Technology Press, 2006), 13.
131. Weiliang Zhou, 'Yi Jin Jing de zuozhe, zhuyao banben ji qi neirong liubian' (The author and main versions of *Muscle Development Classic*), *Journal of Capital Institute of Physical Education* 21, no. 2 (2009): 140.
132. Roxana Ng, 'Toward an Embodied Pedagogy: Exploring Health and the Body though Chinese Medicine', in *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our Worlds*, ed. George J. Sefa Dei, Budd L. Hall and Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 175.
133. Yongxin Shi, *Shaolin Temple in My Heart* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2013), 48.
134. Shi, *Shaolin Temple in My Heart*, 48.
135. The Shaolin Eighteen Lohan Hands is a basic form of Shaolin kung fu exercise.
136. Zun wo zhai zhu ren, *Shaolin quanshu mijue* (Key principles of Shaolin kung fu) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shu ju, 1915), 40.
137. Zun wo zhai zhu ren, *Shaolin quanshu mijue*, 65.
138. Pengcheng Gong, 'Damo yi jin jing lun kao' (A study of Bodhidharma's Yi Jin Jing), *Pumen xuebao*, no. 5 (2001): 1–2.
139. James B. Lewis, *The East Asian War, 1592–1598: International Relations, Violence and Memory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 182.
140. Brian Fagan, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History 1300–1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 50.
141. The stele was erected for Shaolin abbot Shi Liaogai (凝然了改 Ningran Gaigong) by twelfth-generation disciple Qingan and fifteenth-generation disciples Zuyuan and Zufang.

142. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1677: 'Gaigong Chanshi tamin beiji' (Inscription on Chan Master Gaigong's pagoda). The inscription on the pagoda also records the names of 70 Shaolin monks from the fourteenth to the twenty-third generations of Fuyu's Shaolin patriarch clan. They were members of Abbot Liaogai's Lineage House.
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144. Moruo Guo, *Zhongguo shi gao* (Chinese history), vol. 7 (Beijing: Renmin chuban she, 1995), 85.
145. Wang, *Zhongzhou za zu*, 44.
146. Yanwu Gu, 'Shaolin si' (Shaolin Monastery), in *Xin bian Shaolin si zhi* (New records of Shaolin Monastery), ed. Dengfeng County Records Office (Beijing: China Tourism Press, 1988), 118.
147. Feng Ye, 'Shaolin si er shou' (Two poems for Shaolin Monastery), in *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin), ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 241. English translation by author.

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The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1553: 'Chong xiu chuzu an ji' (Renovation of the First Patriarch Temple).
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The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1577: 'Xin jian shi fang chan yuan bei' (Renovation of the Shifang Chan Temple).
The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1573: 'Huomian liangchai' (Tax Exemption).
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The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1625: 'Shaolin guan wu' (Watching the martial arts performance in Shaolin).
The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1677: 'Gaigong Chanshi tamin beiji' (Inscription on Chan Master Gaigong's pagoda).
The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1729: 'Chong xiu zhoufu an dadian jinzhuang shenxiang ji' (Rebuild the main hall of the Zhoufu Temple and restore the golden Buddha statue).
The Shaolin Pagoda of 1548: 'Chi ci a shaolin chan si, chi ming "tianxia duishou, jiaohui, wuseng". Zhengde nianjian meng qing qu qu xuan diao, zhengshou shan shan deng buzhengbian, jing yu feng du tidiao zongbing, tongren Yunnan lie bing kou guan, shang yougong sanqi heshang zhi shou ta Zhouyou' (Monk of Three outstanding services).
The Shaolin Pagoda of 1564: 'Chi ci Da Shaolin Chan si zhuangyan yuanji qin jiaoshi Jiugong Tianzhu heshang zhi ta' (By Imperial Order, Instructor Tianzhu Jiugong's pagoda).
The Shaolin Pagoda of 1575: 'Chi ci Shaolin Chan si tidian Cangong Zhufang heshang shouta' (Pagoda of Superintendent Monk Shi Zhoucan of the Shaolin Chan Monastery).
The Shaolin Pagoda of 1582: 'Chi ci Shaolin Chan si yuanji jiaoshou zhugong tianyi heshang zhi ta' (By Imperial Order, Instructor Tianyi Zhugong of the Shaolin Chan Monastery).
The Shaolin Pagoda of 1583: 'Yuanji qin jiaoshi bensi dutiju leigong dazhen heshang zhi ta' (By Imperial Order, Instructor Dazhen Leigong, Supervisor-in-Chief of the Shaolin Chan Monastery).
The Shaolin Pagoda of 1597: 'Chi ci Shaolin si Du tiju qian shu Senghui si yin Jungong Yunan ling ta' (By Imperial Order, Supervisor-in-Chief of Shaolin Monastery Jungong Yunan's pagoda).
The Shaolin Pagoda of 1619: 'Chi ci Shaolin Chan si du tiju zhengzhan you gong Shungong Wanan heshang xiang shou qi shi si zhi ta' (By Imperial Order, Monk Wanan Shungong, Supervisor-in-Chief of the Shaolin Chan Monastery, who was honoured for his military service. Aged 74).
The Shaolin Pagoda of 1619: 'Chi ci shaolin chan si jiaoshoushi wugong benle heshang xiang shou sishiyi zhi ta' (By Imperial Order, Instructor Benle Wugong of the Shaolin Chan Monastery. Aged 41).
The Shaolin Pagoda of 1625: 'Chi ci zuting da Shaolin Chan si en zu zhengzhan you gong Dacai Biangong shou bas hi san sui ben da heshang zhi ling ta' (Shaolin Pagoda of 1625: By Imperial Order, Monk Pubian of the Cradle of Chan—Grand Shaolin Chan Monastery, who was honoured for his military service. Aged 83).

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5 The Development of Shaolin in the Qing Dynasty

I plan to visit Mount Song tomorrow,
Stopped in Shaolin and stayed here for the night.
The monastery hides in the mountain,
The six roots of Chan bring peace to my mind.
Ancient trees whisper in the wind,
The holy land glows in the dusk.
The Buddha answered my prayer for rain,[1]
With gratitude and respect I wrote this poem in the evening.[2]
Qianlong Emperor (1711–1799), 1750

After occupying Beijing in June 1644, the Manchus continued their expeditions against regional warlords and Ming loyalists. Li Zicheng's Shun dynasty soon fell apart and he was killed in 1645.[3] Zhang Xianzhong's Great Western dynasty was conquered in 1647.[4] His remaining forces retreated to Guizhou and Yunnan provinces in southwestern China and were eliminated in the 1660s. Ming loyalists established the Southern Ming dynasty in Nanjing in June 1644 and resisted the Qing in eastern, southern and southwestern parts of the country, but by 1662 the Qing government had finally put an end to them. The Manchus also occupied large domains in Mongolia, Tibet and Xinjiang. By the 1680s, the Qing dynasty had emerged as one of the world's most powerful empires.[5]

Similarly to the Mongols who ruled China during the Yuan dynasty, the Manchus inherited the Ming bureaucratic system and governed the country with Confucian-based cultural values, 'forming a kind of ethnic diarchy within a political monarchy.'[6] In terms of religious policy, the Manchu rulers indorsed Lamaism, as this brand of Buddhism was closer to their Shamanism.[7] They openly supported Buddhism and Confucianism as instruments of an Inner Asian policy to win the allegiance of the Mongols, Tibetans and Han Chinese. Christianity and Islam were strictly controlled. As in previous dynasties, secret folk religions such as the Eight Trigram Sect and the White Lotus were outlawed due to their anti-establishment nature. In addition, decrees were issued to regulate religious institutions and limit the size of the religious community.

The Great Qing Legal Code, based on the Ming legal system, included detailed restrictions for religious practices:

> Buddhist and Daoist monasteries are not allowed to expand without approval of the government. Those who violate this rule will be punished by 100 staff blows, return to secular life and be exiled to border regions to serve military duty. Nuns will be reduced to servants in government offices. Property of the monastery will be confiscated. Those who conduct a private ordination will be punished by 80 staff blows. If the parents allow this to happen, they will be punished as well. The abbot and senior monks who conduct a private ordination will also be punished. . . . Those who join monastic life before 16 years of age, or those from a small family of fewer than three children, will be put in a pillory for one month. . . . Civilians who wish to set up shrines, temples and monasteries must seek approval from the government. . . . Buddhist and Daoist clergy can recruit one disciple after they reach 40 years of age. Those who violate this rule will be punished by 50 staff blows . . . the disciple must return to secular life.[8]

The Manchu emperors were favourably disposed to Chan Buddhism.[9] The Shunzhi Emperor (1638–1661) invited Linji Chan masters Shi Xingcong (1610–1666),[10] Shi Tongxiu (1614–1675)[11] and Shi Daomin (1596–1674)[12] to the imperial palace in Beijing to discuss Chan teachings.[13] The Kangxi Emperor (1654–1722) frequently visited Buddhist monasteries around the country and composed more than 1,000 tablet inscriptions for various monasteries and temples. The Yongzheng Emperor (1678–1735) was deeply committed to Chan. He compiled *Recorded Sayings of Layman Yuanming* (Yuanming Jushi Yulu), *Records of Pointing Out Demons and Discerning Heterodoxy* (Jianmo Bianyi Lu), *Selected Imperial Sayings* (Yu Xuan Yulu), *Imperially Recorded Essentials of Records of the Source-Mirror* (Yulu Zongjing Dagang) and several other works assembling Chan masters' sayings and explaining his own thoughts on Chan doctrines and practices. In order to popularise Buddhism, the Yongzheng Emperor ordered the compilation of the *Dragon Edition of the Buddhist Canon* (Longzang) in 1735. The initiative was supported by his successor, the Qianlong Emperor (1711–1799). The canon, which contains 724 cases, 1,669 works and 7,168 fascicles, was completed in 1738. The Qianlong Emperor also ordered the translation of the Buddhist canon into Manchu in 1773, which was completed in 1790.[14]

Supported by royal patronage and favoured by Confucian scholars, Chan Buddhism still dominated the Buddhist world. The Linji school was mainly developed by the Panshan and Tiantong branches in eastern and southeastern China.[15] The Caosong school was promoted by the Yunmen and Shouchang branches in Jiangxi, Fujian and Guangdong provinces.[16]

Recovery from Late Ming Destruction

Thanks to the Qing government's pro-Buddhism religious policy, Shaolin Monastery slowly recovered from the late Ming destruction. In 1658, Shi Haikuan (1596–1682) was officially appointed by the Qing court as the abbot of Shaolin. Based on the efforts of Haikuan and supported by donations from local government officials, including Administration Vice-Commissioner Xu and Surveillance Vice-Commissioner Fan, a major renovation project was carried out between summer 1652 and autumn 1653 to repair the monastery's main gate, the Mahavira Hall, the Chan Hall, the Kinnara Hall, the Snow Pavilion, the Bell Tower, the Abbot Room and the Scripture Hall.[17]

In 1653, funded by patrons, the Shi Fang Chan Temple, which had been damaged by the rebel-bandits in the early 1640s, was restored.[18] Also in the early 1650s, sponsored by Buddhists from Gong County, Yanshi County and Dengfeng County, Shaolin held its first Water-Land Dharma Assembly (Shui Lu Hui)[19] since the establishment of the Qing dynasty.[20] Between 1661 and 1664, another Water-Land Dharma Assembly was held in the monastery.[21]

In the following years, more temples, halls and Buddha statues were repaired and restored. In 1686, headed by high-ranking Manchu official Ordo, Right Vice-Minister of Revenue, a government delegation visited Shaolin. Proposed by Zhang Siming, Administration Vice-Commissioner of Henan Province, the visitors made donations to rebuild the Ciyun Temple. In 1688, the government awarded 88 acres of land to the monastery.[22] In 1689, funded by lay supporters, the Main Hall of the First Patriarch Temple was restored.[23] In the same year, funded by Dengfeng County Magistrate Wang Youdan, a branch temple of Shaolin at the entrance of Xuanyuan Valley named the Guanghui Temple was extended and renovated. Supported by new Dengfeng County Magistrate Zhang Shenghao, the Guanghui Temple was renovated again in 1695.[24] In 1702, Buddhist followers from Hejian Prefecture, Zhili Province, donated six Buddha statues to the First Patriarch Temple.[25]

By the early eighteenth century, Shaolin had recovered from the late Ming destruction. In addition to continuous renovations, several new buildings, including the Chuipu Hall, the Guanyin Hall and the Ksitigarbha Hall, were constructed.

Despite its well-known loyalty to the previous Han regime, Shaolin enjoyed favourable treatment from the Manchu emperors. In 1704, the Kangxi Emperor (1654–1722) wrote two tablet inscriptions for the monastery. The 'Jewelled Trees and Fragrant Lotus' (宝树芳莲) tablet was stored at the Mahavira Hall. The 'Shaolin Monastery' (少林寺) tablet was placed at the entrance of the Hall of Heavenly Kings[26] and was later put on top of the newly constructed main gate in 1735. These two tablet inscriptions from the emperor facilitated the revival of Shaolin.

In the following years, supported by government officials and Buddhist followers, more renovations were made to the monastery and its branch temples. For instance, in 1708 the Second Patriarch Temple was renovated.[27] In the 1720s, the South Garden beside the Shi Fang Chan Temple, which had been burnt down by rebel-bandit forces in the late Ming era, was restored, as were the main gate, the Buddha Hall and the Buddha statues.[28]

In 1735, approved by the Yongzheng Emperor and funded by the government, Shaolin received another major renovation which cost 9,000 taels of silver.[29] Main buildings were repaired and new residential halls were constructed. The Goddess of Mercy Temple, east of the main gate and south of the Ciyun Hall, was built to accommodate visiting government officials. A new main gate was erected. Two stone lions were placed in front of the gate (see Figure 5.1).

However, Yongzheng was concerned about the expansion of Shaolin's lineage temples. He ordered that all lineage temples be demolished and relocated to the side of the monastery. He also intended to select a trusted monk from Beijing to be abbot of Shaolin:

> According to the report by Wang Shijun, Governor-General of Hedong Circuit, Shaolin Monastery in Henan Province needs repair and renovation. The commissioner has confirmed this and submitted the map [of Shaolin]. There are 25 lineage temples on the map. They are located far away from the monastery and scattered in Mount Song.

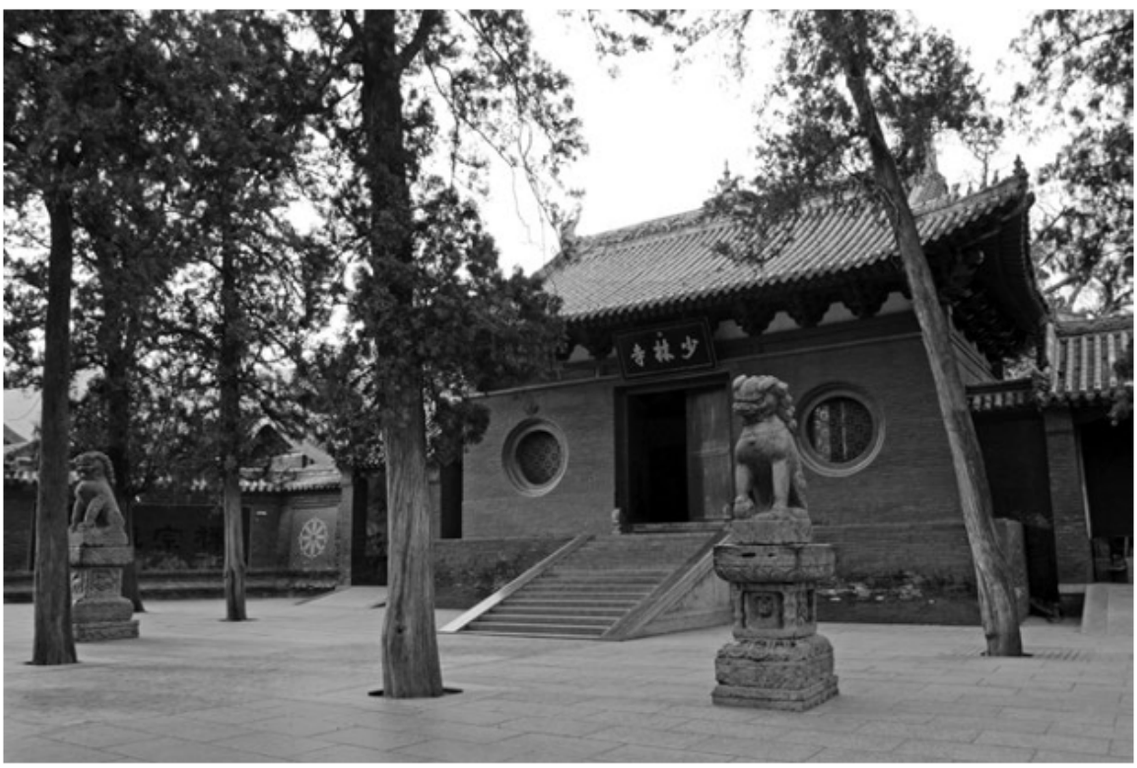

Figure 5.1 Main Gate of Shaolin Monastery.

Source: © Zirui Wang/Microfotos.

> I am aware that some monks who stay in lineage temples in the Zhili region have a bad reputation. They do not stick to monastic rules and act recklessly in society. They are the scum of Buddhism. Now Shaolin has become a large-scale monastery. These lineage temples should be part of the monastery. Otherwise, it will be difficult to manage. They should be demolished and relocated beside the left-side and right-side walls of the monastery and be used as residential halls. Wang Shijun should produce a detailed construction plan. After the repair and renovation work is finished, you should wait for my instructions. I will send someone from the capital to be the abbot [of Shaolin].[30]

Construction finished in early 1736, but the appointment of the abbot of Shaolin was put on hold because there were no further instructions from Yongzheng before he died in Beijing in August 1735. In the following decades, the monastery continued to enjoy peaceful development.

In 1748, *Records of Shaolin* (Shaolin Si Zhi), compiled by early Qing scholar Jiao Qinchong and Dengfeng County Magistrate Ye Feng (1624–1687), was re-edited and published by Jiao Ruheng and Dengfeng County Magistrate Shi Yi. The book is a collection of maps, travelogues, essays, poems, letters, biographies, stele inscriptions, government policy documents and imperial orders relating to the monastery. It was the first published history of Shaolin (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 *Records of Shaolin*: Map of Shaolin. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao, ed. *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin) (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), I-II.

Source: Courtesy of Guangling Guji Press.

In September 1750, the Qianlong Emperor (1711–1799) visited Shaolin, making him the first emperor to do so since Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu Zetian of the Tang dynasty. Upon arrival, Qianlong was warmly welcomed by Shaolin monks and the people of Dengfeng. He gave out silver ingots to the greeting crowd and then inspected the monastery, the First Patriarch Temple and the Bodhidharma cave. He stayed overnight in the Abbot Room and composed three poems and four couplets for Shaolin.[31] He also wrote five tablet inscriptions for the Snow Pavilion, the Thousand Buddhas Hall, the Abbot Room and the Bodhidharma Hall.[32] In one poem, Qianlong comments on the legend of Bodhidharma, the first Patriarch in the Chinese Chan lineage:

> Among the eminent monks in the world,
> There was Bodhidharma with green eyes.
> After facing the wall for nine years,
> He vanished without a trace.
> Sonyun met Bodhidharma in Mount Congling,
> Chan developed after him into five schools and was passed down to Huineng.
> The stone shows the image [of Bodhidharma] for unknown reasons,
> There is no need to investigate the truth.
> I am not here to question the story of Bodhidharma,
> People retold history in different ways and created legends and myths around him.

The emperor's visit greatly boosted the reputation of Shaolin. Shaolin monks engraved Qianlong's poem on a 3.6-metre-tall stele and placed it in front of the Mahavira Hall (see Figure 5.3). A government-funded renovation project was carried out between 1750 and 1752 to refurbish the monastery.[33]

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Shaolin maintained a good relationship with the Qing government and enjoyed a peaceful time. The following steles were erected in gratitude for donations and support from government officials:

- The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1776: 'Renovate the Thousand Buddhas Hall of the Shaolin Monastery'[34]
- The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1815: 'Monument of Gratitude'[35]
- The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1815: 'Notice Issued by the Chief of Ru Prefecture'[36]
- The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1829: 'Renovate Shaolin Monastery at Mount Song'[37]
- The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1833: 'Special Monument of Gratitude to Dengfeng County Magistrate Master Li'[38]
- The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1842: 'By Imperial Order, Monument of Gratitude to Dengfeng County Magistrate Master He'[39]

Figure 5.3 The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1750: 'The Qianlong Emperor's Poem for Shaolin.'

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

The Decline of Buddhism and Its Impact on Shaolin

Despite the Manchu rulers' supportive stance toward Buddhism, the Qing dynasty saw the decline of Buddhist faith, for a number of reasons. First, with the spread of industrialisation and commercialisation, and the rapid expansion of urban centres, there was greater social mobility than ever before. The bureaucratic system, which penetrated every aspect of society, welcomed candidates from all social classes. Talented young people from literate families studied Confucianism in order to pass the Imperial Examinations and obtain a passport to power, wealth and status. Consequently, the elite class gradually lost interest in Buddhism.[40] Second, in rural China, Buddhism faced competition from local religious organisations, secret societies, exorcists and the cults of numberless divinities.[41] Meanwhile, with the arrival of Western powers in the early nineteenth century, Buddhism came to be challenged by rapidly expanding Christianity.[42]

Following the abolishment of the poll tax in 1723, which meant it was no longer necessary for farmers to join religious institutions to avoid tax, the Qing court abolished the ordination certificate system in 1774. However, this liberal policy did not boost the development of Buddhism. As there were no more thresholds or barriers for secular people who wished to join monastic life:

> too many of the clerics entered the order not for the spiritual message of the Buddha or for religious discipline, but mainly to gain a livelihood. All too often they were the ones who had failed to succeed in society or who wanted to escape from society.[43]

This inevitably led to the moral and spiritual decadence of the monastic community.

A Shaolin Monastery stele erected in 1842 reflected the decay of Buddhism and its impact on Shaolin. It recorded an official notice issued by the Dengfeng County magistrate, in which he urged members of the monastery to stop conducting disgraceful activities that violated Buddhist rules and regulations:

> Some monks from the lineage temples have established a close relationship with members of the public. Some accommodate criminals, some consume alcohol and take up gambling. Some even hide prostitutes in their residence. They act like gangsters, picking quarrels and provoking troubles. We are disgusted with their disgraceful behaviour . . . monks and members of Shaolin should focus on Buddhist practice, study the scriptures and work on the farm. All should avoid establishing close personal connections with secular people. Also, you should not interfere with secular affairs, accommodate bandits

> and criminals, and cause trouble. Those who dare to act against Buddhist rules and regulations will be punished. Visitors must not gamble in the monastery. Tenant farmers should not live in or beside the monks' residence. There should be a boundary between monastic life and secular life. Any person who witnesses an offence should report it to the authorities. We will follow up and investigate.[44]

After the First Opium War (1839–1842), which ended with the defeat of China and the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, the Qing government was forced to allow the free expansion of Christianity in China. Western missionaries started to arrive in huge numbers, introducing Catholicism, Protestantism and Orthodoxy to a wider segment of the Chinese population.[45] Enjoying extraterritorial rights and supported by Western governments and powerful Christian societies at home, proselytisers became increasingly aggressive in their attacks on Chinese Buddhism and other indigenous religions.[46]

In 1843, inspired by Christian missionaries, school teacher Hong Xiuquan (1814–1864) and his associates founded the God Worshipping Society, a heterodox evangelical Christian sect, in Hua County, Guangdong Province. Hong Xiuquan claimed to be the younger brother of Jesus Christ. He and his followers launched the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) in Guangxi Province in 1850 and established the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace (Taiping Tianguo). This Christian millenarian movement lasted for over 14 years and swept across central and southern China. It was the largest revolt since the establishment of the Qing dynasty. The rebels intended to overthrow the Qing government and replace Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism and traditional folk religions with a form of Christianity. A massive number of Buddhist and Daoist monasteries, Confucian clan temples and local folk shrines were destroyed.[47] The rebellion caused further damage to an already declining Buddhism. Many monks and nuns were massacred. Buddhist statues and scriptures were destroyed and burnt.[48] As late Qing historian Jiang Weiqiao (1873–1958) commented: 'It was indeed an unprecedented disaster for Buddhism.'[49]

A Shaolin Monastery stele erected in 1855 reflects the social unrest and economic devastation caused by wars, showing that banditry had again become a widespread problem in the Mount Song region and that some members of the monastery were stealing public property for personal gain:

> Recently, the world is descending into chaos by warfare. Banditry is on the rise. They hide in religious institutions, causing disturbance to monastic life. Some steal grain from the field, some cut down trees [owned by the monastery]. Some even conduct robberies. The monastery's reputation has been undermined. Therefore, we have decided to create regulations to stop these unlawful acts and restore order and normality.[50]

Shaolin monks decided to apply the following rules to all members of the monastery, whether they be monks, nuns, lay followers or tenant farmers:

> Those who cut down trees on land owned by Shaolin will receive a fine of 5,000 wen; those who cut down trees on farmland during the day will receive a fine of 2,000 wen, 4,000 wen for violating the ban at night; those who steal grain or cotton from the land will receive a fine of 1,000 wen, 2,000 wen for violating the ban at night; one can eat fruit from the trees but may not collect the fruit and take it away. They will receive a fine of 1,000 wen for violating this rule during the day and 2,000 wen at night.[51]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, while the country was crippled by Western incursion and domestic rebellions, Shaolin struggled to survive. In 1855 and 1858, the monastery still received donations and managed to renovate the First Patriarch Temple, the main gate and the East and West Chan Halls.[52] In the following years, only one more renovation was carried out, to the Yuzuo Hall in 1893. Other than that, no more steles or pagodas were erected between 1860 and 1912, reflecting the hardship inflicted on Shaolin.[53]

The Further Development of Shaolin Kung Fu

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the rise of various schools of Chinese martial arts, including Baguazhang, Nanquan, Taijiquan and Xingyiquan. The older schools, such as Shaolin, Wudang and Emei, continued to evolve. Also in this period, people began to categorise different schools of martial arts into two families: internal (Neijia) and external (Waijia).

The internal family was headed by the Wudang school, believed to have been founded by Daoist priest Zhang Sanfeng from the Wudang Mountains in Hubei Province, central China.[54] It emphasised the practice of internal power, qi (energy flow) and the use of effective defence skills. Movements were mostly slow, soft, gentle and relaxed. During combat, the practitioner would avoid direct clashes with the opponent. The strategy was to evade or redirect the opponent's attack and 'borrow' his force to launch an attack.[55]

The external family was headed by the Shaolin school. Its defining characteristics included aggressive attacking techniques, fast movements and powerful strikes.[56] Training focused on building up physical strength, agility and speed. Most of the external styles centred around punching and kicking, and stressed the confrontation of force with force during combat.

Following its Ming golden age, Shaolin kung fu continued to gather fame across China. Martial arts enthusiasts travelled to the monastery to

learn kung fu. This is recorded in various literary genres, including folk tales, literary sketches, short stories and local history records. *Records of Zhiwen* (Zhiwen Lu), a popular collection of literary sketches published in the late Qing period, tells the story of a young man who studies kung fu in Shaolin for the purpose of revenge.[57] *Records of Fujian: Eminent Monks* tells the story of a monk from Fujian Province who studies kung fu in Shaolin for three years in order to protect his monastery from local mobs:

> The martial arts monk is from Putian. He was born into an official's family and joined a local monastery at an early age. There was a garden of longan trees in front of the monastery. It was the livelihood of the monks. Every year during the harvest season, a mob from the town came to pick the longans without paying the monks. The monks dared not try to stop them . . . the young monk blamed himself for not being able to defend against the mob and left the monastery. . . .
>
> Three years later, he came back . . . when the harvest season arrived, a mob came to pick the longans again. The young monk shouted: 'Stop immediately and I will forgive you.' The mob laughed and attacked him with longans. The monk used a staff to attack the mob, and they were all knocked down from the tree. The monk told them, 'I know you have more than one hundred members in your group. Come back tomorrow. If anyone can defeat me, I will let you pick as many longans as you want. If you can't defeat me, you shall never come back again.' The next day, more than a hundred people gathered in front of the monastery . . . they selected twelve men to challenge the monk. They pulled the monk from both sides, but the monk stood still . . . they attacked him with weapons. He used a staff to fight back, and all the men were defeated . . . they lay prone on the ground and promised not to come back again . . . he told the other monks: 'I learned kung fu in Shaolin in order to defend our monastery against violence.'[58]

As well as this, Shaolin monks travelled around the country to perform and teach martial arts, allowing Shaolin kung fu to be introduced to a wider audience. *The Qing Petty Matters Anthology* (Qingbei Leichao), an anthology of historiographical essays from the Qing period compiled by historian Xu Ke (1869–1928), records the story of a Shaolin monk and his disciple who travelled to southern China and performed kung fu in Nanhai (today's Foshan, Guangdong Province) for alms:

> Li was born into a wealthy family in Nanhai. He lost his parents at a young age. He was a big fan of martial arts and studied martial arts skills with private instructors. He had lost much of his wealth by the time he reached middle age. He then relied on teaching martial arts to

> young people and often hung out with gangs. One day, a monk from Shaolin arrived in the town. He and his disciples performed unarmed combat and staff skills on the street and collected alms. Li ordered them to leave. The monk begged Li to let them stay. Li insisted that they leave. The next day, the monk tried to avoid Li. Li gathered his gang to search for him. When they found the monk, Li shouted: 'You must give half of your earnings to me to cover my wine expenses!' The monk took out his wallet and gave 100 coins to Li. Li threw the money back. The monk said, 'This is all I have.' Li lost patience and tried to search the monk's bag. The monk became angry, and a fight took place between the two in the central square of the town. Li stabbed at the monk's chest with a halberd. The monk used his left arm to ward off the halberd and knocked it to the ground. Li wielded his sword to strike again. The monk leaned to the side and quickly passed Li from under his arm. He hit Li on the back and kicked him in the head. When the fight resumed, the monk used his palm to cut Li's arm. Li felt extreme pain and his sword was knocked away. He was knocked down. The monk then walked away calmly.[59]

Collection of Hearsay Stories (Dao Ting Tu Shuo), compiled by Pan Lunen (1791–1856), offers detailed description of the training methods adopted by a group of martial arts practitioners who studied Shaolin kung fu with a monk called the Bell Monk:

> Dozens of young men studied Shaolin kung fu with him . . . they were very flexible and could jump up to the sky like birds. There were several maidenhair trees outside the temple, with a diameter of over one metre. Every morning the practitioners kicked the trees and immediately jumped back. Dew on the leaves fell like rain, but they were able to keep their clothes dry. They could shoot metal balls from their hands. They stood a hundred steps away from the trees and took aim at a particular tree branch. When they started to shoot, all the leaves on the branch fell off but leaves on adjacent branches remained secure. They placed roof tiles on the ground and chopped them with two fingers. After they had finished, the tiles remained but the corners were gone. They stood in the middle of four punching bags and punched in four directions. The moving punching bags didn't touch them. They could hang on to roof trusses by the fingers of a single hand while carrying heavy sandbags in the other arm. These are some of the skills that they practised all day long. Every one of them had a unique skill.[60]

Also starting from the early Qing period, many martial arts enthusiasts who had studied in Shaolin or learned kung fu from travelling Shaolin monks or martial arts practitioners developed their own schools of

martial arts based on Shaolin kung fu. For example, Ji Jike (1602–1680), founder of Xingyiquan, studied kung fu in Shaolin when he was young and then invented a series of unarmed combat and weapon techniques.[61] The Baguazhang (Eight Trigram Palm) school founded by Dong Haichuan (1813–1882) also has connections with Shaolin kung fu. Dong started practising martial arts from an early age and mastered Shaolin Luohanquan (Shaolin Arhat Fist) and Shaolin Tantui. He left home at the age of 26 and studied with famous martial arts masters in Sichuan, Anhui, Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Zhejiang provinces. Inspired by the eight trigrams of Daoism, he invented Baguazhang.

In addition, different versions of Shaolin kung fu were developed by martial arts practitioners. Many claimed to be the true successors of authentic Shaolin kung fu. This is illustrated in *The Travels of Lao Can* (Laocan Youji), a popular novel by Liu E (1857–1909), which offers an in-depth look into everyday life in the late Qing period:

> The man's surname is Liu . . . he joined Shaolin between the age of 14 and 15 to study martial arts. He felt that Shaolin kung fu was not very useful in real combat, so he left the monastery to search for the most effective combat techniques. He met a monk in Mount Emei, Sichuan Province, and studied two boxing forms called the First Patriarch Fist and the Second Patriarch Fist with him. Liu was surprised to find that these boxing techniques originated in Shaolin. He told the monk: 'I studied in Shaolin for almost five years, but I've never seen any Shaolin monk performing these techniques.'
>
> The monk said: 'This is authentic Shaolin kung fu, but I did not learn it from Shaolin. Traditional Shaolin kung fu has been lost. The First Patriarch Fist was invented by Bodhidharma and the Second Patriarch Fist was developed by Huike. The monks in Shaolin practised these martial arts techniques to build up their physique and improve their stamina. When they travelled alone in the mountains to visit famous monasteries and Dharma Masters, they might encounter tigers, lions and bandits. Monks don't carry weapons, so they learned these boxing skills for self-defence. It was difficult to find proper shelter and food in mountains. They trained their muscles and bones to be able to endure cold weather and hunger, and survive in extreme conditions. This is why the First Patriarch and the Second Patriarch invented these boxing forms. After that, Shaolin kung fu become famous. Many people travelled to Shaolin to learn kung fu. Some of them later became bandits and rapists. So senior monks of up to the previous four or five generations decided not to pass down these boxing techniques to future generations.' . . .
>
> Liu studied with the monk for three years and mastered all the techniques . . . he travelled in Hebei and Henan provinces and was respected by martial arts practitioners in those areas.[62]

In sum, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Shaolin kung fu had become a collective term for various sects and styles of martial arts circulating in China. Some were authentic unarmed combat and weapon skills from Shaolin, while others were based on the theory and fighting style of Shaolin kung fu and borrowed its name to enhance their reputation.[63]

In an early Qing folktale collection entitled *Jian Hu Ji*, author Chu Renhuo (1635–1682) asserts: 'Today, when people talk about martial arts, many would agree: martial arts is rooted in Shaolin kung fu.'[64] Although this is clearly an exaggeration, it reflects the popularity of Shaolin kung fu as well as the important role it played in the development of Chinese martial arts.

The rapid development of martial arts, especially the travelling martial arts instructors who taught students in towns and cities, caught the attention of the Qing court. Worrying that the growing population of martial arts practitioners could lead to a rise in gang culture and result in an increase in violence and crime, the Yongzheng Emperor banned the teaching, study and practice of martial arts in public places in 1727.[65] After the Qianlong Emperor ascended the throne, he reaffirmed this policy. New articles were added into *The Great Qing Legal Code* in 1740 to enforce the ban. Combat competitions were discouraged by the authorities. In 1813, more articles were added to the code, making the punishment even more severe.[66]

Shaolin Monastery was affected by the ban. Due to their well-known martial arts tradition, the monks' activities were closely monitored by the authorities. Unlike the Ming government, which used Shaolin monks as a militia against rebels and pirates, the Qing court was more conservative. The Qianlong Emperor's comments to a report submitted by Right Vice-Minister of War Yaertu (?–1767) in 1739 showed that he was concerned about Shaolin's martial tradition, worrying that Shaolin monks and their followers might be lured by religious cults to join their ranks and conduct criminal activities:

> Evil cults have emerged in Huguang, Shandong and Henan provinces. People in Henan Province are unsophisticated and can easily be fooled and enslaved by these cults. Some foolish people believe that the travelling clergy and magicians can cure their diseases and bring them fortune and blessings. They join evil cults and conduct crimes. This is a big threat to public security. . . . Many young people in Henan Province practise martial arts. Shaolin monks teach kung fu in the area and are joined by gangsters and outlaws. Evil cults often target these people and lure them to join their organisations. They always use violence to secure their interests and build up their power.[67]

In the early 1770s, several Shaolin monks were invited by Circuit Governor of Henan Xu Ji (?–1811) to serve as martial arts instructors to the soldiers of the Green Battalions (Luying), a regular army of the Qing

Empire made up mostly of Han soldiers. The practice was soon stopped by the Qianlong Emperor, as he believed that the monks should follow Buddhist rules and focus on religious practices rather than get involved in military affairs. This is explained in an imperial edict issued in 1775:

> Yesterday, Xu Ji reported that the Green Battalions use firearms to defeat their enemies. In addition to firearms, the soldiers practise long spear skills. Xu Ji had heard that Shaolin monks are famous for their spear skills, so he invited several monks to the battalions to teach the soldiers. This is not wrong in principle, but should not be encouraged. The monks have already given up secular life. They should stick to Buddhist rules and be humble, gentle, patient and enduring. Practising martial arts would make them violent and aggressive. Local governors should guide them to focus on religious practice instead of inviting them to serve in the military as martial arts instructors. Xu Ji failed to understand that this inappropriate arrangement may damage the government's reputation. All local governors and officials should be notified of this rule. The [Shaolin] monks should be sent back to their monastery.[68]

In the context of the decline of Buddhism, Shaolin failed to re-establish itself as a centre of Buddhist studies. To make things worse, the monastery was now crippled by the ban on martial arts and struggling to maintain its martial arts tradition. Kung fu training was forced underground. Indoor training was conducted by the monks at night. According to the *Songyue Travelogue* (Songyue Youji) composed by late Qing scholar Xi Shujin in 1894, the Thousand Buddhas Hall was used by Shaolin monks as a martial arts training venue:

> Murals on the back wall show the arahants practising martial arts. There are holes on the floor that are a few inches deep. I was told this is the place where the monks used to practise martial arts.[69]

In 1828, a high-ranking Manchu official named Wanyan Linqing (1791–1846), the Surveillance Commissioner[70] of Henan Province, visited Shaolin. At his request, Shaolin monks demonstrated kung fu in front of the Kinnara Hall. Wanyan Linqing was deeply impressed. The event was later recorded in his memoir, *Tracks in the Snow* (Hongxue Yinyuan Tuji):

> Shaolin Monastery sits underneath the Wuru Peak of the north section of Mount Song. . . . In the late afternoon, I went to pay tribute to Kinnara King. Kinnara King's statue is magnificent. He wears a gown and holds a fire poker. Legend has it that he defended Shaolin against rebels and was made the dharma guardian of the monastery. . . . Kinnara King is the symbol of Shaolin's martial tradition, so I asked the

Figure 5.4 Nineteenth-Century Shaolin Mural on the North Wall of the Guanyin Hall, Shaolin Monastery.

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

> monks about Shaolin kung fu. They were reluctant to say anything. I told them: 'Shaolin is famous for its kung fu and I understand that Shaolin monks always follow the Buddhist rules and regulations. They practise martial arts to protect the monastery and this famous mountain. You don't need to lie to me.' The head monk smiled and agreed to my request. He ordered several monks to demonstrate kung fu in front of the Kinnara Hall. They are as powerful as bears and as flexible as birds. Shaolin kung fu is truly remarkable.[71]

Wanyan Linqing's visit to Shaolin was reproduced by Shaolin monks in murals on the north and south walls of the Guanyin Hall (see Figures 5.4 and 5.5). It was interpreted as the Qing government's approval of martial arts training in Shaolin. Thereafter, the monks no longer hid their training activities. A Shaolin Monastery stele erected in 1846 records this change. The monks publicly acknowledged that martial arts training was an integral part of their monastic life and an important tradition of Shaolin:

> I respect my teacher and fulfil my duty as a disciple. I study scripture during the day and practise martial arts in the evening, and I always follow this routine. This is Shaolin's tradition. Scholarly study and martial arts training go hand in hand.[72]

Shaolin, Tiandihui and the Nationalist Revolution

While Shaolin was enjoying a peaceful period under Qing rule, the world was transforming rapidly. The Industrial Revolution kicked off an era of

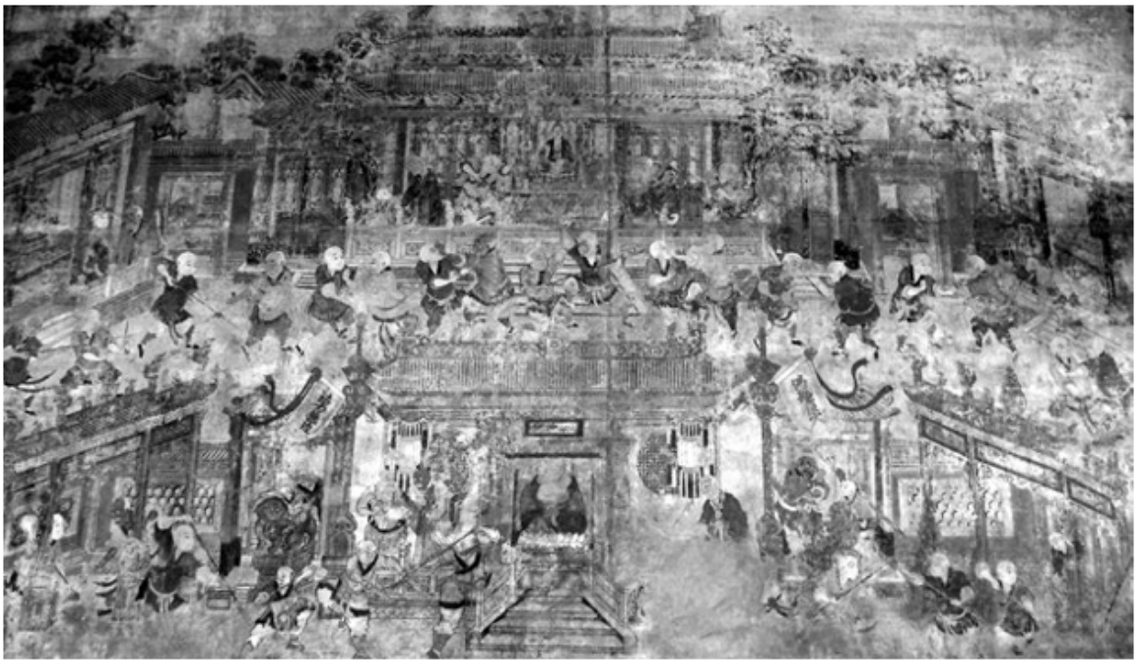

Figure 5.5 Nineteenth-Century Shaolin Mural on the South Wall of the Guanyin Hall, Shaolin Monastery.

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

colonial and imperialist expansion. The concepts of nation, nation states and nationalism emerged in Western Europe and soon became driving forces that shaped the world's political landscape in the following centuries.

Ancient China had developed into Tianxia, meaning the world—literally 'under heaven'—instead of a country or nation.[73] The major concept of Tianxiaism was the idea that China was the only true civilisation in the world. Its cultural superiority remained unchallenged due to geographical isolation. There was no concept of or need for nationalism in a world that lacked cultural or inter-state competition.[74] It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the Celestial Empire began to realise that it was no longer a dominant power in the world. China's defeat in the two Opium Wars (1839–1842, 1856–1860) forced the Qing court to re-evaluate the foreign powers and redefine the meaning of Tianxia.

With imperialist powers sending battleships to coastal regions and poised to attack major port cities, the Qing government signed unequal treaties with Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Russia and the United States, forcing China to cede land, pay large reparations, open up ports to foreign trade and offer foreign citizens commercial and residence privileges.[75] These treaties established a framework for Western expansion in China in all areas.

When the country was dragged into political unrest and economic hardship caused by Western incursion and domestic rebellions, Shaolin

came to be associated with politics. Due to its renowned martial arts tradition and well-known loyalty to the Ming regime, it was linked to the Heaven and Earth Society (Tiandihui, or Hongmen), an influential secret society which advocated pro-Ming and anti-Qing ideologies.

The origin of the Tiandihui is still debated, but it is clear that from the 1760s, with the efforts of the monk Tixi[76] from Gaoxi Temple in Yunxiao, Fujian Province, the society began to build its influence and spread across coastal regions in southeastern China. In its early years, it developed as a mutual aid brotherhood. Many of the members engaged in predatory crime and violence, and there was little evidence of rebellious intent or national political concerns.[77]

The Tiandihui caught the Qing government's attention when its members launched the Lin Shuangwen rebellion of 1787–1788 in Taiwan. Thereafter, the authorities began to suppress the movement and hunt down its members. Despite the government crackdown, the society continued to grow and became a dominant underground organisation in the Pearl River Delta. Members engaged in illegal activities such as banditry, piracy, feuding, smuggling, gambling, prostitution and racketeering, and they occasionally rebelled against local authorities in order to secure political and economic interests.[78]

From the early nineteenth century, in response to government suppression, the Tiandihui began to advocate anti-Qing ideologies. A story called the Xilu Legend was created to link the foundation myth of the society to Shaolin.[79] The story was described in an extant manual of the Tiandihui, which was confiscated by the Qing government from a regional leader named Yao Dagao[80] in 1810, as follows:

> In the reign of Kangxi (1661–1722), the Xilu [barbarians] invaded the country. Kangxi announced that whoever was able to defeat the Xilu would be offered the title of Duke. There was a Shaolin monastery in Gansu Province . . . 128 Shaolin monks took up arms against the Xilu. The Xilu were defeated and fled. Shaolin monks returned to the court. Kangxi awarded them with government official posts, but they declined and returned to Shaolin and continued to practise Buddhism. A scheming official led the army to persecute the monks. 18 monks survived and escaped. . . . An incense burner made of white stone surfaced in the sea. It weighed 26 kg. On the bottom of the incense burner were four characters: 'Revive Ming, Exterminate Qing' (Fan Qing Fu Ming). They took the incense burner out of the water and took oaths. There were only six monks left. Led by senior monk Wan Tixi, whose clerical name was Yunlong, they assembled 107 men. They were joined by a young boy. So in total, there were 108 men . . . they bound themselves to righteousness and took Hong as their family name. They took blood oaths and formed the Hongmen. Wan Tixi was made the elder brother. On the ninth day of the

> ninth month, Yunlong battled the Qing army and was killed on the battlefield . . . the other five brothers defeated the Qing army . . . the young boy escaped to Fujian. . . .
>
> The lady of the Western Palace, the concubine of the Chongzhen Emperor [of Ming], escaped to Mount Fuhua [after the fall of the Ming dynasty]. She was called Divine Concubine Li. Blessed by heaven, she delivered a boy. The boy was warrior-like. He joined the Hongmen and was supported by the brothers.[81]

The Tiandihui employed Shaolin to build credibility and influence. The Xilu Legend borrows elements from classical Chinese novels, including *Water Margin* (Shuihu) by Shi Naian (1296–1372), *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (Sanguo Yanyi) by Luo Guanzhong (1330–1400) and the eighteenth-century novel *Heroes of the Tang Dynasty* (Shuotang). It upholds the principles of brotherhood, righteousness, filial piety and loyalty. Some historians argue that the five founders stand for the five Confucian virtues of benevolence, integrity, etiquette, wisdom and sincerity.[82]

In the following decades, the Xilu Legend developed into different versions and was incorporated into the rituals of the Tiandihui, turning Shaolin into a symbol of rebellion and a source of ethno-national identity.[83]

Historical evidence shows that members of the Tiandihui practised martial arts to improve their physical strength and fighting skills. Hongquan (Hong Fist), one of the most popular sub-branches of Nanquan, was the prime martial art they developed and practised. This is illustrated in some of the passwords the Tiandihui used to protect its members:

> Question: You are carrying the badge of the spearhead of two capitals and thirteen provinces. What are you capable of?
>
> Answer: Both scholarly and martial skills. I have mastered eighteen martial arts skills.
>
> Question: Where did you learn your martial arts skills?
>
> Answer: In Shaolin Monastery.
>
> Question: Which skill is superior?
>
> Answer: Hongquan.
>
> Question: What is your proof?
>
> Answer: Poem as the proof: The fierce Hongquan is world-famous. It was invented by Shaolin monks. Hong is the family name shared by all the [Hongmen] brothers. Ministers support the emperor of Ming [or the wise emperor] who would bring peace to the world.[84]

The important place of martial arts training in Tiandihui members' daily lives is also reflected in a poem that circulated within the society:

Martial arts skills originate from Shaolin.
I am familiar with all Hongmen affairs.
Hongquan is able to defeat the barbarians.
It is superior to other martial arts schools.[85]

In addition to Hongquan, members of the Tiandihui practised Wuzuquan (Five Ancestors Fist), which represents the five Shaolin monks in the Xilu Legend who founded the Tiandihui: Cai Dezhong, Fang Dahong, Ma Chaoxing, Hu Dedi and Li Shikai. The five forms are: Baihequan (White Crane Fist), Houquan (Monkey Fist), Luohanquan (Arhat Fist), Dazunquan (Bodhidharma Fist) and Taizuquan (Emperor Taizu Fist).[86]

In 1854, inspired by the Taiping Rebellion, members of the Tiandihui launched the Hong Soldiers Rebellion (Hongbing Qiyi) in various parts of the Pearl River Delta. They besieged Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong Province, and captured several major counties, including Dongguan, Foshan, Shunde and Xiangshan. Supported by British naval forces, the Qing army managed to recover most of the territory in Guangdong and forced the rebels to retreat to adjacent Guangxi Province.

The rebels did not follow their slogan of 'Revive Ming, Exterminate Qing.' Instead of restoring the Ming regime, they established a kingdom called Great Accomplishment (Dacheng) in Xunzhou Prefecture in 1855. Between 1855 and 1858, the rebels expanded their territory in Guangxi and captured seven prefectures and more than 30 counties. It was not until 1861 that the Qing forces reclaimed Xunzhou and put an end to the short-lived Dacheng Kingdom.[87]

After the Hong Soldiers Rebellion, the Tiandihui survived in the Pearl River Delta as a set of rituals and traditions rather than a hierarchical and unified organisation.[88] Anti-Qing rebellion was no longer the objective of regional societies. Members of the society were often associated with local feuds, piracy, smuggling and robbery.[89]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Tiandihui expanded into the Leizhou peninsula, Hainan Island and the newly rising urban centres in coastal regions of China, including Guangdong, Hong Kong, Xiamen and Shanghai. The society was also brought into foreign countries by Chinese migrants from Fujian and Guangdong provinces, and soon became one of the most popular mutual aid organisations among the Chinese diaspora in North America, Australia, Europe and Southeast Asia. The martial arts tradition was carried on by its members both in China and abroad, which greatly facilitated the development of Nanquan in general and Hongquan and Wuzuquan in particular.[90]

The Tiandihui changed the face of Shaolin. Influenced by the Xilu Legend, Shaolin came to be linked with political ideas. This was illustrated in a popular late Qing martial arts novel entitled *The Prosperous and Great Qing Dynasty* (Sheng Chao Dingsheng Wan Nian Qing). Published anonymously in 1893, the novel tells the story of the Qianlong

Emperor's travels through southern China in the eighteenth century. The plot is based on the rivalry between the Wudang school headed by the Daoist priest Baimei from Mount Emei and the Shaolin school headed by the monk Zhishan, abbot of the southern branch of Shaolin Monastery in Fujian Province. Members of the Shaolin school are described as villains who worship violence, while masters from the Wudang school are portrayed as loyal and righteous fighters. In the end, an alliance of Qing troops and Wudang school masters defeats the Shaolin school villains and captures Shaolin Monastery in Fujian.[91]

Following the Opium War, China's political elites and scholars began to search for answers as to why the Celestial Empire had been easily defeated in the Opium Wars. In order to modernise China, notable political figures in government launched the Self-Strengthening Movement in 1864 to promote industry, military, commerce, agriculture and education.[92] Reform activists and scholars also attributed China's weakness to the political system. With the support of monarchist reformists, the Guangxu Emperor (1871–1908) launched the Hundred Days' Reform in 1898 to create a Western-style constitutional monarchy and transform the Qing empire into a modern nation state.[93]

However, the Self-Strengthening Movement and The Hundred Days' Reform both failed to achieve their 'objective of making China strong enough to resist humiliation at the hands of the foreign imperialists.'[94] By the end of the 1890s, with its defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), China had been brought to its knees by imperialist powers. Fear existed among the general public that the country would be carved up by imperialist powers.

In response to imperialist incursion, anti-foreign sentiment ran high. In northern China, the expansion of Christian churches triggered resistance.[95] Farmers in Shandong Province, bonded together by martial arts societies and folk religion, launched the Boxer Rebellion in 1898. The rebellion originated from a nativist nationalism that rejected all things foreign. The Boxers believed that China's illness was caused by foreign aggression and that national recovery could only be achieved by eliminating the Western powers' presence in China.[96] Under the slogan 'Support the Qing and Exterminate the Foreign Powers' (Fu Qing Mie Yang), they tried to destroy everything related to foreigners, such as Christian churches, missionaries and Chinese Christian converts, foreign factories and even railways.

When the Boxers besieged foreign embassies and churches in Beijing in June 1900, the Eight-Nation Alliance of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States sent an international force of marines to Beijing. The Qing court allied with the Boxers and declared war on the Western Alliance. Two months later, the Alliance forces defeated the Chinese resistance and entered Beijing.[97] The war ended in 1901 with the signing of the Xinchou Treaty.[98]

After the failure of the Boxer Rebellion, a nationalism based on the concept of the nation state and the consciousness of sovereignty gradually prevailed.[99] Scholars and political elites were convinced that national salvation could only be achieved when people showed their loyalty to a modern nation state instead of submitting to an emperor or a culture-bound regime. From the late 1890s, an Anti-Manchu Movement organised by Han nationalists and led by Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) plotted to overthrow the Qing government. The goal was to eliminate the autocracy and servility that had survived in China for thousands of years, end Manchu rule, turn China into an independent country that could survive in the twentieth century and make the country strong enough to compete against the world superpowers.

With the accumulation of resentment caused by the Qing government's inability to defend against foreign aggressions, growing ethnic nationalism among the Han Chinese sparked uprisings. The 1911 Xinhai Revolution, initiated by the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance,[100] successfully overthrew the Qing government.

Due to its anti-Qing tradition and its influence among overseas Chinese communities, the Tiandihui was approached by Han Chinese nationalists and revolutionaries rebelling against Manchu rule. In 1904, in order to win support from Tiandihui members in China and abroad, revolutionary leader Sun Yat-sen joined the Zhigongtang, a fraternal society founded by overseas Tiandihui members, during his exile in Hawaii.[101] In the following years, Tiandihui members provided substantial support to the Nationalist Revolution. Their contribution was acknowledged by revolutionary leader Tan Renfeng (1860–1920) in 1912:

> The success of the Xinhai Revolution is rooted in the Hongmen which was founded two hundred years ago . . . in the early stage of the revolution, the secret was well kept by the Hongmen brothers. After we launched the revolution, the Hongmen brothers followed the command . . . they are brave fighters. No matter how risky the operation was, they always took the lead. After the Wuchang Uprising of 1911, [Hongmen brothers and revolutionaries] in various provinces answered the call. With their efforts, the revolution was accomplished in a few months. The army and the Hongmen brothers all contributed to the success of the revolution.[102]

Conclusion

After overthrowing the Ming dynasty, the Manchu inherited the Ming bureaucratic system and ruled China with Confucian-based cultural values. Buddhism was openly supported by the government. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, Shaolin Monastery slowly recovered from the late Ming destruction. Throughout the Qing dynasty, Shaolin

maintained a good relationship with the court and enjoyed a period of peace and stability.

Despite the government's supportive stance toward Buddhism, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a decline in Buddhist faith. Shaolin was affected and failed to re-establish itself as a centre of religious studies. Despite this, the monastery continued to expand its influence in Chinese society through kung fu. Martial arts enthusiasts went to Shaolin Monastery to learn kung fu, and the monks travelled around the country to perform and teach martial arts, allowing Shaolin kung fu to be introduced to a wider audience.

However, after the Yongzheng Emperor banned the teaching, study and practice of martial arts in public places in 1727, Shaolin's kung fu training was forced to go underground. It was not until the late 1820s that the monks made public their martial arts training activities, following a high-ranking Manchu official's visit to the monastery.

In the nineteenth century, when the country was dragged into political unrest and economic hardship as a result of domestic rebellions and Western incursion, due to its renowned martial arts tradition and well-known loyalty to the Ming regime, Shaolin came to be associated with the Tiandihui, which advocated anti-Qing ideologies. In the 1900s, members of the Tiandihui joined the Anti-Manchu Movement launched by Han nationalists and revolutionaries, providing substantial support to the Xinhai Revolution of 1911. During this period, Shaolin kung fu, as a totem of traditional culture and indigenous strength, contributed to the construction of a national consciousness and indirectly served the Nationalist Revolution which transformed China from a culture-bound empire to a modern nation state.

Notes

1. Northern China suffered a major drought in 1750.
2. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1750: 'The Qianlong Emperor's Poem for Shaolin', English translation by author.
3. Chongnian Yan, *Qingchao huangdi liezhuan* (Biography of Qing dynasty emperors) (Beijing: Zijincheng chuban she, 2002), 97–98.
4. Bingwen Nan, *Nan Ming shi* (History of Southern Ming) (Tianjin: Nankai University Press, 1992), 189.
5. Dingxin Zhao, *The Confucian-Legalist State: A New Theory of Chinese History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 329.
6. Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 6th Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 45.
7. Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 450.
8. Yun Ji, ed., *Jing yin wenyuan ge si ku quan shu* (Jing yin wen yuan pavilion complete library in four sections), vol. 672 (Taipei: Taiwan shanwu yin shu guan, 1986), 525–526.
9. Weiqiao Jiang, *Zhongguo Fojiao shi* (The history of Chinese Buddhism) (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2010), 270–278.

10. Also known as Hanpu Xingcong (憨璞性聪).
11. Also known as Yulin Tongxiu (玉林通锈).
12. Also known as Muchen Daomin (木陈道忞).
13. Jiwen Du and Daoru Wei, *Zhongguo Chanzong tongshi* (History of Chinese Chan Buddhism) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chuban she, 1993), 577–578.
14. Wenhua Luo, *Longpao yu jiasha*: *Qinggong Zangchuan Fojiao wenhua kaocha* (Imperial robe and Kāṣāya: Tibetan Buddhism in the Qing imperial palace), vol. 1 (Beijing: Zijincheng chuban she, 2005), 27.
15. Daoru Wei, *Zhonghua Fojiao shi: Song Yuan Ming Qing Fojiao shi juan* (History of Chinese Buddhism: Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties) (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chuban she, 2013), 347–350, 355–359.
16. Wei, *Zhonghua Fojiao shi*, 359–360.
17. Jingxing Fu, 'Chongxiu Shaolin si ji' (Rebuild Shaolin Monastery), in *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin), ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 150.
18. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1653: 'Chongjian shifang chanyuan' (Restore the Shifang Chan Temple).
19. Water-land Dharma Assembly is a Buddhist ritual performed for universal salvation. 'The name "water and land" derives from its intent to save living creatures who inhabit the most painful domains of Samsara, whether in water or on land.' See: Robert E. Buswell, Jr. and Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 813.
20. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1654: 'Xiujian tian di ming yang shuilu zheng gu jian zu sanzai gongxun yaunman bei' (Memorial monument for the Water-Land Dharma Assembly).
21. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1664: 'Shuilu bei ji' (Memorial monument for the Water-Land Dharma Assembly).
22. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1688: 'Henan Buzhengshisi fenshou kai gui he dao gaoshi' (Notice issued by Henan Provincial Administration Commission).
23. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1690: 'Juanzi xiu dian gongde bei' (Memorial monument).
24. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1695: 'Chongxiu Guanghui an' (Rebuild the Guanghui Temple).
25. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1702: 'Pilu jiaozhu rulai qianfo' (Vairocana).
26. 'Yingjian' (Buildings and constructions), in *Shaolin si zhi* (Records of Shaolin), ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 61.
27. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1708: 'Chongxiu erzu an ji' (Rebuild the Second Patriarch Temple).
28. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1729: 'Chongxiu zhoufu an dadian jinzhuang shenxiang ji' (Rebuild the main hall of the Zhoufu Temple and restore the golden Buddha statue).
29. 'Shengzhi' (Imperial Order), in *Shaolin si zhi*, ed. Feng Ye and Qinchong Jiao (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1997), 89.
30. 'Shengzhi', 87.
31. The couplets are: Fayin Qi Sanming Huitong Yan Zang (法印启三明慧通眼藏), Xiangyan Biao Qijing Miao Di Xincheng (香岩标七净妙涤心尘), Shanse Xisheng Han Jingzhao (山色溪声含静照) and Xiyuan Leshu Rao Lingtai (喜园乐树绕灵台) for the Thousand Buddhas Hall; Fengfeng Hebi Quan Guili (登峰何必全规李) and Zhushi Wufang Xiao Si Lu (竹室无妨小似庐) for the Abbot Room; and Yuxiu Xiangyun Kai Fajie (玉岫香云开法界) and Zhulin Huayu Jing Chanxin (珠林花雨静禅心) for the Bodhidharma Hall. English translation by author.

32. The five tablet inscriptions are: Xue Yin Xin Zhu (雪印心珠) for the Snow Pavilion; Xiang Yan Yun Fan (香岩云梵) and Fa Yin Gao Ti (法印高提) for the Thousand Buddhas Hall; Xiu Yi Song Yun (秀挹嵩云) for the Abbot Room; Zui Sheng Jue Chang (最胜觉场) for the Bodhidharma Hall.
33. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1752: 'Wang taigong zu cheng xiu Shaolin si gongcheng ji' (Master Wang undertook the renovation project for Shaolin Monastery).
34. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1776: 'Chongxiu Shaolin si qianfodian ji' (Renovate the Thousand Buddhas Hall of Shaolin Monastery).
35. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1815: 'Zhong seng shidai ganen bei' (Monument of gratitude).
36. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1815: 'Ruzhou zhizhou gaoshi' (Notice issued by the Chief of Ru Prefecture).
37. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1829: 'Chongxiu Songshan Shaolin si beiji' (Renovate Shaolin Monastery at Mount Song).
38. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1833: 'Teshou wenlinlang Dengfeng xian Li da laoye gandai bei' (Special monument of gratitude to Dengfeng County Magistrate Master Li).
39. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1842: 'Chishou Fengzhi daifu Dengfeng xian zhengtang He da laoye shidai gande bei' (By Imperial Order, monument of gratitude to Dengfeng County Magistrate Master He).
40. Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 94–95.
41. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, 104.
42. Dongchu Shi, *Zhongguo fojiao jindai shi* (A history of Buddhism in modern China) (Taipei: Dongchu Press, 1984), 49.
43. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*, 452–453.
44. The Shaolin Monastery stele of 1842: 'Chishou Fengzhi daifu Dengfeng xian zhengtang He da laoye shidai gande bei' (By Imperial Order, monument of gratitude to Dengfeng County Magistrate Master He).
45. Xue Yu, *Buddhism, War, and Nationalism: Chinese Monks in the Struggle against Japanese Aggression 1931–1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 21.
46. Yu, *Buddhism, War, and Nationalism*, 21.
47. Francesca Tarocco, *The Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism: Attuning the Dharma* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 48; Zhixin Wang, *Zhongguo zongjiao sixiang shi dagang* (The history of Chinese religious thoughts) (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2015), 238, 240.
48. Yu, *Buddhism, War, and Nationalism*, 21; Dongchu Shi, *Zhongguo fojiao jindai shi* (A history of Buddhism in modern China) (Taipei: Dongchu Press, 1984), 67.
49. Weiqiao Jiang, *Zhongguo Fojiao shi* (The history of Chinese Buddhism) (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2010), 280.
50. The Shaolin Monastery stele of 1855: 'He si seng su gongyi guiju bei' (Rules for all the members of the monastery).
51. The Shaolin Monastery stele of 1855: 'He si seng su gongyi guiju bei' (Rules for all the members of the monastery).
52. The Shaolin Stele of 1855: 'Chon xiu xiting ji' (Renovate the West Temple); The Shaolin Stele of 1858: 'Chongxiu chuzu an qianfo ge bing shanmen bei ji' (Renovate the Thousand Buddha Hall and the front gate of the First Patriarch Temple).
53. Lingshan Huigong (灵山会公)'s pagoda of 1803 was the only pagoda erected in Shaolin in the nineteenth century.
54. Guangxi Wang, *Chinese Kung Fu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 17–18.

55. Shengli Lu, *Combat Techniques of Taiji, Xingyi, and Bagua: Principles and Practices of Internal Martial Arts*, trans. Zhang Yun (Berkeley: Blue Snake Books, 2006), 14.
56. Thomas A. Green and Joseph R. Svinth, eds., *Martial Arts of the World: An Encyclopedia of History and Innovation*, vol. 2 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 97.
57. Lianxiu Qi, ed., *Zhongguo minjian gushi shi* (The history of Chinese folktales: Qing dynasty) (Taipei: Showwe Information Co, Ltd, 2012), 218.
58. Yinsheng Lin, *Zhongguo Nan Shaolin* (China's southern Shaolin Monastery) (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chuban she, 2013), 52.
59. Yuezhi Xiong and Hang Qian, eds., *Chuan shi cang shu: Qing bei lei chao 1* (Classic literature: The Qing Petty Matters Anthology 1) (Haikou: Hainan guoji xinwen chuban zhongxin, 1995), 1065.
60. Lunen Pan, *Dao ting tu shuo* (Collection of hearsay stories) (Hefei: Huangshan Shushe, 1998), 46.
61. The other three schools are Wudang, Taiji and Baguazhang.
62. E Liu, *Lao Can youji* (The travels of Lao Can) (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2013), 36–37.
63. Baozhong Cai, *Zhongguo wushu shi zhuanlun* (A study of the history of Chinese martial arts) (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chuban she, 2003), 164–165.
64. Shanghai guji chuban she, ed., *Qingdai biji xiaoshuo daguan* (Folktale collection of the Qing dynasty), vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji keyin she, 2007), 2072.
65. *Qing shi lu* (Records of Qing), vol. 7 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985), 974–975.
66. Pengnian Li, Ziyang Liu and Qiangyi Chen, eds., *Qingdai liu bu chengyu cidian* (Dictionary of Qing dai liu bu) (Tianjin: Tianjin Renmin chuban she, 1990), 393.
67. Xisha Ma, *Qingdai bagua jiao* (Bahua jiao in the Qing dynasty) (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chuban she, 1989), 182.
68. *Qing shi lu* (Records of Qing), vol. 21 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985), 122–123.
69. Shjin Xi, *Songyue Youji* (Songyue travelogue), cited in Changgui Zhao, 'Chuantong shehui Shaolin si yu guanfu de guanxi tanjiu—yi Ming Qing shiqi wei zhongxin' (Study of the relations between Shaolin Temple and government in traditional society), *Journal of Luoyang Normal University* 32, no. 4 (2013): 51–56, 55.
70. The Surveillance Commissioner (Ancha shi) was a high-ranking government official commissioned with the supervision of judicial administration.
71. Linqing Wanyan and Chunquan Wang, *Hongxue yinyuan tuji* (Tracks in the snow) (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chuban she, 2011), 250–251.
72. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1846: 'Xilai tang zhi shan bei' (Memorial stele for the Monk Zhishan of the Xilai Hall).
73. Yutang Lin, *Zhongguo wenhua jingshen* (The spirit of Chinese culture) (Beijing: Commercial Press, 2000), 334.
74. James Harrison, *Modern Chinese Nationalism (*New York: Hunter College of the City of New York, Research Institute on Modern Asia, 1969), 2.
75. These consist of the Treaty of Nanking (1842) and the Treaty of the Bogue (1843) with Britain; the Treaty of Wangxia (1844) with the US; the Treaty of Whampoa (1844) with France; the Treaty of Canton (1847) with Sweden-Norway; the Treaty of Kulja (1851) and the Treaty of Aigun (1858) with Russia; the Treaty of Tianjin (1858) with Britain, France, Russia and the US; the Convention of Peking (1860) with Britain, France and Russia; the Chefoo Convention with Britain; the Treaty of Saint Petersburg (1881) with

Russia; the Treaty of Tientsin (1885) with France; and the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking (1887) with Portugal.

76. Tixi, also known as Honger.
77. David Ownby, 'The Heaven and Earth Society as Popular Religion', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 54, no. 4 (1995): 1027.
78. Dian H. Murray and Baoqi Qin, *The Origins of the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1994), 5–6; Thomas A. Green and Joseph R. Svinth, eds., *Martial Arts of the World: An Encyclopedia of History and Innovation*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 111.
79. Xuetai Wang, *Youmin wenhua yu zhongguo shehui* (The popular culture of displaced people and Chinese society) (Beijing: Xueyuan chuban she, 1999), 503.
80. Yao Dagao joined the Tiandihui in Guangdong. He was made the 'elder brother' of a Tiandihui group in Guangxi Province.
81. Xuetai Wang, 'Tiandihui Xilu shenhua zhi jiexi' (Study of the Xilu Legend of the Heaven and Earth Society), *Wenshi Zhishi* (History knowledge), no. 10 (1997): 9–10.
82. Tai Hsuan-Chih, 'Origin of the Heaven and Earth Society', trans. Ronald Suleski, *Modern Asian Studies*, 11, no. 3 (1977): 420.
83. Xiangtao Kong, 'Lishi yu shenhua: Tiandihui xilu gushi youlai ji Tiandihui qiyuan' (History and myth: Research on the source of the Xilu myth as well as the origin of the Heaven and Earth Society), *Studies in Qing History*, no. 3 (2005): 70–78; Baoqi Qin, 'Tiandihui huibu zhong Xilu gushi xinjie' (A new interpretation of the Xilu story in the registers of the Heaven and Earth Society), *Academic Monthly* 39, no. 7 (2007): 142–147.
84. Weiliang Zhou, 'Yetan Tiandihui Shaolin gushi de xingcheng yuanyin ji dui chuantong wushu suo chansheng de yingxiang' (Formation of the legend about Tiandi Society and Shaolin Temple and its influence on traditional wushu), *Journal of Beijing Institute of Physical Education*, no. 4 (1991): 83–84.
85. Zhou, 'Yetan Tiandi hui Shaolin gushi', 84.
86. Jinhuan Hu and Chongxiong Sun, *Nanquan huizong* (Southern boxing) (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chuban she, 1985), 24.
87. Peixin Zheng, 'Dacheng guo de fan Qing qiyi' (The Dacheng Kingdom and anti-Qing rebellion), *Shixue Yuekan*, no. 12 (1958): 14–19.
88. David Faure, 'The Heaven and Earth Society in the Nineteenth Century': An Interpretation', in *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 372.
89. Faure, 'The Heaven and Earth Society in the Nineteenth Century', 383.
90. Xingtan Chen, Wenlong Zhao, Jiyuan Li and Yongfeng Xu, 'Lingnan chuantong Hongquan de wenhua yanjiu' (Study of the Hongquan, a tradition of Lingnan), *Journal of Guangzhou Sport University* 36, no. 4 (2016): 53–54.
91. See: *Sheng chao dingsheng wan nian qing* (The prosperous and great Qing dynasty) (Beijing: Beijing Normal University Press, 1993).
92. Fuhui Luo, *Chinese Nationalism* (Wuhan: Huazhong Normal University Press, 1996), 179.
93. Rui Bai, 'Kang Youwei's Understanding of Nation State', *Seek Truth*, no. 4 (2005): 175.
94. Suisheng Zhao, *A Nation State by Construction* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2004), 53.
95. Dongchu Shi, *Zhongguo fojiao jindai shi* (A history of Buddhism in modern China) (Taipei: Dongchu Press, 1984), 69.
96. Zhao, *A Nation State by Construction*, 54.

97. Sheng Hu, 'The Origins and the End of the Boxer Rebellion', *Modern Chinese History*, no. 1 (1979): 137–140.
98. The full name of the treaty is the Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Russia, Spain, United States and China—Final Protocol for the Settlement of the Disturbances of 1900. Under the treaty, China was fined indemnities of 450 million taels of fine silver. As part of the Treaty, the remaining Boxers were arrested and executed by the Qing government.
99. Lixing Wang, 'The Rise of Chinese Modern Nationalism and the Movement to Boycott American Goods', *History Studies*, no. 1 (2000): 19–31.
100. The Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (CRA) was founded by Sun Yat-sen and Song Jiaoren (1882–1913) in Tokyo in 1905 to promote the Anti-Manchu Movement.
101. Hongkui Zhang, 'Shilun Meizhou Hongmen Zhigongtang huaqiao zai Xinhai geming shiqi de zuoyong' (The role of American overseas Chinese Hongmen Zhigongdang members in the Xinhai Revolution), *Historical Review*, no. 4 (1988): 49.
102. Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, ed., *Sun Zhongshan quanji* (Sun Yat-sen's Collection), vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1982), 258–259.

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The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1654: 'Xiujian tian di ming yang shuilu zheng gu jian zu sanzai gongxun yaunman bei' (Memorial monument for the Water-Land Dharma Assembly).
The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1664: 'Shuilu bei ji' (Memorial monument for the Water-Land Dharma Assembly).
The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1688: 'Henan Buzhengshisi fenshou kai gui he dao gaoshi' (Notice issued by Henan Provincial Administration Commission).
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The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1708: 'Chongxiu erzu an ji' (Rebuild the Second Patriarch Temple).
The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1729: 'Chongxiu zhoufu an dadian jinzhuang shenxiang ji' (Rebuild the main hall of the Zhoufu Temple and restore the golden Buddha statue).
The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1750: 'The Qianlong Emperor's Poem for Shaolin'.
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The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1776: 'Chongxiu Shaolin si qianfodian ji' (Renovate the Thousand Buddhas Hall of Shaolin Monastery).
The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1815: 'Ruzhou zhizhou gaoshi' (Notice issued by the Chief of Ru Prefecture).
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The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1833: 'Teshou wenlinlang Dengfeng xian Li da laoye gandai bei' (Special monument of gratitude to Dengfeng County Magistrate Master Li).
The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1842: 'Chishou Fengzhi daifu Dengfeng xian zhengtang He da laoye shidai gande bei' (By Imperial Order, monument of gratitude to Dengfeng County Magistrate Master He).
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6 The Republic of China Era

Warlords, Militarism and Nationalism

The sun hides in freezing mist,
The pine trees are covered by white snow.
Shaolin Monastery emerges in the dawn,
With chimney smoke arising a bit late.
After the soldiers leave,
The monks greet the guests with tears in their eyes.
Wandering in front of the shala trees,
I am reluctant to leave.
So I write this poem,
As a promise for a return visit.[1]

Kang Youwei (1858–1927),[2] 1924

In 1912, a modern nation state, which the country's enlightenment thinkers, politicians, nationalists and revolutionaries believed was the only way forward for the Chinese nation, eventually took shape.[3] As with previous dynasty changes, the 1911 Nationalist Revolution had created a power vacuum which led to political chaos and instability. Although a national central government—the Beiyang government—existed in Beijing, it was a front for a warlord faction in northern China and exerted no real national control. The newly established Republic of China was carved up by warlords who set up regional authorities by force. Local governments were subordinate to regional warlords, the rule of law was supplanted by jungle rules, and the country was dragged into a prolonged civil war.

While warlords were competing for land, resources, power and wealth, exploitation, corruption and banditry flourished and had a devastating effect on people's lives. New taxes were introduced to feed the warlords' armies. Small towns and villages were frequently looted by bandits. Farmers were driven from their land. Young people were forced to join private or provisional armies and sacrifice their lives in brutal battles. The unrest lasted for 16 years, until the National Revolutionary Army led by the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) defeated the provincial warlords

in the Northern Expedition (1926–1927) and established a centralised government in Nanjing in 1927.[4]

The Militarisation of Shaolin

At the time of the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, in the context of the social unrest and economic hardship caused by warlords and civil war, Shaolin was struggling to revive itself. In the first ten years of the Republic, only three renovations were carried out in the monastery, in 1913, 1916 and 1919, to repair the Thousand Buddhas Hall, the Guanyin Hall, the Kinnara Hall and the Ksitigarbha Hall.[5]

As it had in the past, Shaolin maintained a good relationship with the authorities. Head Monk Shi Henglin (1865–1923)[6] was appointed Head of Dengfeng County Buddhist Registry in 1912. He decided to ally with the local authorities to protect the monastery from bandits. A militia group called the Shaolin Guard Regiment (SGR) was established in 1912 and Henglin was made regimental commander. The SGR was formed by warrior monks and equipped with firearms.

In 1920, the SGR assisted in dozens of small battles in the Mount Song region and defeated various groups of bandits.[7] In gratitude, the governor of Henan Province, Zhang Fengtai (1857–1925), awarded Henglin a medal for Shaolin's contribution to protecting local towns and villages. The monastery received a commemorative plaque entitled 'The Holy Spirit Shining Through' (Wei Ling Pu Bei) for the Kinnara Hall. The Circuit Intendant of Heluo also awarded Henglin a tablet inscription: 'Living Buddha of Shaolin' (Shaolin Huofo). After Henglin passed away in October 1923, two stele monuments were erected in February 1924 to commemorate him, funded by donations from monks and lay Buddhists from Dengfeng County, Yanshi County, Gong County and Linru County. Liu Ruxie, Dengfeng County Sacrificial Official to Confucius, composed the inscriptions for one of the steles.[8]

In 1923, Shi Miaoxing (1891–1927) succeeded Henglin as leader of Shaolin and the SGR. He was also made Head of Dengfeng County Buddhist Registry. Miaoxing joined Shaolin at the age of eight. He studied Chan and kung fu with Henglin and served as chief instructor of warrior monks. He made great efforts to promote Shaolin kung fu and composed several martial arts manuals, including *Explanation of Shaolin Kung Fu* (Shaolin Quan Jie), *Explanation of Shaolin Staff* (Shaolin Gun Jie); *Bodhidharma Five Classic Fists* (Damo Wu Jing Quan) and *Further Suggestions on Unarmed Combat and Weapon Skills* (Zengbu Quan Xie Jian Yan). Some of the martial arts techniques in these manuals were later compiled in *Shaolin 72 Techniques* (Shaolin Qi Shi Er Yi Lian Fa) published by martial arts expert Jin Enzhong (1904–?) in 1934. Miaoxing also composed *Illustration of the Shaolin*

Lineage (Shaolin Zongpai Yuanyuan Shixi Tujie) and *Rules and Regulations of Shaolin* (Shaolin Jieyue Shi Yi) to record the history of Shaolin Monastery.[9]

Under the leadership of Henglin and Miaoxing, and despite the difficulties, Shaolin's kung fu tradition was carried on by the monks. This was illustrated in a travelogue by scholar Zhang Zhaosong, who visited the monastery in around 1917:

> We were well treated by monk Fahua, monk Suhui and kung fu instructor Henglin . . . during the meal, a young monk who is a beginner of kung fu performed for us. Holding a five-chi-long staff, he elegantly stood in the middle of the stage. Suddenly he started the routine, jumping and twisting toward all directions, with his staff creating lights and shadows in the air. The guests were all impressed by his energetic performance.[10]

When military leader Jiang Shunan (1884–1934) visited Shaolin in 1920, Shi Miaoxin performed Da Hongquan for him:

> Travelling down from the Eling peak, I saw Shaolin and its shabby roofs. . . . I am here to see Shaolin kung fu. After the meal, I made a request to the monk who treated us. He explained: 'Senior monks who are kung fu experts have already passed away. Now there are fewer than 30 monks in the monastery and only a few of them practise kung fu. Monks with superior kung fu skills are away at the moment. We can arrange a performance tomorrow.' The next morning, monk Miaoxing performed two Da Hongquan routines for me. Although his kung fu is not perfect, I can tell it is the authentic Shaolin school. Miaoxing told me that his teacher Henglin was a kung fu master but was sick and could not perform that day.[11]

A similar kung fu performance is described in a travelogue by Duan Zhishan, who visited the monastery in 1925:

> They demonstrated one-man unarmed combat routines. Their movements were precise and tightly choreographed. All the audience kept silent during the performance. They applauded loudly between each set of drills. [The monks] then demonstrated two-man drills. Every punch and kick was lightning fast . . . the audience was truly impressed.[12]

In order to build up the defence of Shaolin, Henglin recruited lay disciples into the SGR. However, this did not help the monastery to survive the destructive warlord era. Instead, it dragged Shaolin into the

conflicts between the Beiyang government, the warlords and revolutionary forces.

In 1922, warlord Fan Zhongxiu (1888–1930) paid a visit to Shaolin. Fan was born into a farming family in Baofeng County, Henan Province, in 1888, and studied martial arts in Shaolin as a teenager.[13] During the visit, he was disappointed by the poor condition of the monastery and donated 400 silver dollars to renovate the Mahavira Palace Hall. At the time, Fan was a regimental commander under Marshall Wu Peifu (1874–1939), a key figure in the Beiyang government. In the autumn of 1923, Shaolin's SGR sided with Fan Zhongxiu and joined Wu's army. Fan left Wu Peifu in late 1923 and joined the anti-Beiyang revolutionary force headed by Sun Yat-sen, founder of the KMT and founding father of the Republic.[14] Two years later, Fan returned to Henan as Chief Commander of the Jianguo Yu Army (Jianguo Yu Jun) to take back control of Henan Province from warlord Han Yukun (1888–1925). Assisted by the SGR, Fan Zhongxiu and his allies successfully defeated Han's forces in June 1925.[15]

Shaolin's alliance with the warlords eventually led to disaster. In 1927, Miaoxing was killed in a battle against warlord Ren Yingqi (1892–1934) in Wuyang County, Henan Province. After hearing the news, martial arts expert Jin Enzhong composed an elegy for Miaoxing and praised him as a brave and patriotic fighter:

> The Golden Arhat,
> Launching attacks with fists, sword, spear and sabre,
> Like a flying dragon and crouching tiger.
> Imbued with a martial spirit,
> He is fearless and full of confidence.
> Our brave Chan master,
> He is super ambitious and as tough as steel.
> He promoted our national treasure and joined the fight for national salvation. His spirit will live on forever.[16]

Miaoxing's death was only the beginning of the major destruction that the monastery was about to suffer. After the 1927 Northern Expedition, Fan Zhongxiu refused to subordinate his forces to the National Revolutionary Army led by new KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975). Fan occupied southwestern Henan and claimed sovereignty over more than 20 counties. In April 1928, he launched an assault on Zhengzhou City and Luoyang City, which were controlled by Chiang Kai-shek's close ally, warlord Feng Yuxiang (1882–1948). Fan was defeated by Feng's subordinate general Shi Yousan (1891–1940). He retreated to Mount Song and used Shaolin Monastery as his command centre. Shaolin monks helped Feng to resist Shi Yousan's troops, but they were soon defeated.

On 15 March 1928, Shi Yousan led his forces into the monastery and they torched the Dharma Hall. The next day, the soldiers set fire to the monastery. At least 18 buildings, including the Bell Tower, the Drum Tower, the Eastern and Western Chan Halls, the Hall of Heavenly Kings, the Mahavira Hall, the Kinnara Hall and the Six Patriarch Hall, were destroyed in the fire, as were hundreds of scriptures, the collection of Chan Buddhist history and the Shaolin kung fu manuals.

This destruction was not merely an act of personal revenge, but also a product of the anti-Buddhist persecution launched by Feng Yuxiang and his supporters. Feng had been an officer in the Qing government's Beiyang Army. He joined the Nationalist Revolution in 1911 and gradually rose to prominence in the Beiyang government. He was baptised in 1915 and became known as the Christian general—most of his commanders and soldiers were Christians. He left the Beiyang government in 1924 and joined the Northern Expedition launched by Chiang Kai-shek in 1926. After defeating most of the northern warlords, he established control over much of north-central China. As a devout Christian convert, Feng Yuxiang made great efforts to promote Christianity in China, but showed no tolerance for other religions. After his troops entered Henan Province in 1927, he launched a campaign to wipe out Buddhism.[17] Hundreds of Buddhist monasteries were confiscated for military usage. Some were turned into schools, libraries and entertainment centres, and more than 300,000 monks and nuns were expelled. The White Horse Monastery in Luoyang, the first Buddhist monastery in China, was ransacked by Fen's troops in 1927. The famed Grand Xiangguo Monastery in Kaifeng was turned into a marketplace. Buddha statues in the monastery were destroyed.[18] This anti-Buddhist persecution also spread into Hebei, Shaanxi, Shandong and other provinces in north-central China.

Together with the New Culture Movement[19] and the May Fourth Movement of 1919,[20] which led to the rise of atheism, scientism, evolutionism and anti-tradition sentiments, Feng Yuxiang's anti-Buddhist campaign resulted in the further decline of Buddhism in China. It also reflected the clash between traditional Chinese values and Western ideas.

After the Northern Expedition, Feng Yuxiang was made Vice-Premier of the Republic of China (ROC). His anti-Buddhist policy was adopted by the Nationalist government headed by Chiang Kai-shek, who was baptised as a Christian in 1930. The government gave recognition to groups that conformed to the Western/Christian category of 'religion,' 'while also doing their utmost to eliminate religious phenomena belonging to the "superstition" category.'[21]

In 1928, proposed by Christian convert Xue Dubi (1892–1973), the Minister of Internal Affairs, a campaign was launched by the government to transform Buddhist monasteries and temples into schools. Decrees were issued to extend state ownership to Buddhist and Daoist monasteries/temples.[22] Although this anti-Buddhist policy was not strictly enforced

due to protest and resistance from the Buddhist community headed by the Venerable Master Shi Taixu (1890–1974),[23] Shi Yuanying (1878–1953)[24] and Shi Hongyi (1880–1942),[25] some campaigns proved effective in parts of central, eastern and northern China, and in major cities.[26]

Discouraged by the nationalist government's anti-Buddhist religious policy, Shaolin never recovered from the destruction of 1928. The majority of the monks fled the monastery, while the remaining monks tried hard to maintain Shaolin. Despite the hardship, they managed to raise funding from local lay Buddhists to repair the First Patriarch Temple between 1930 and 1931.[27] Martial arts training also continued throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

On 1 November 1936, Chiang Kai-shek visited Shaolin during a tour of Dengfeng County. At the time, approximately 50 monks lived in the monastery.[28] When Chiang arrived in the morning, he was greeted by the monks at the main gate. He inspected the monumental steles and the Thousand Buddhas Hall, which fortunately had survived the destruction of 1928. The monks performed unarmed combat routines and weapon drills for him. Chiang was impressed by the performance and awarded 1,000 silver dollars to them.[29]

Also in 1936, a Japanese martial arts enthusiast named Doshin So (1911–1980) visited Shaolin. Doshin was born in 1911 in Okayama Prefecture. After his father passed away in 1917, he was sent to Shenyang in northeastern China to live with his grandfather. He joined the Japanese army in 1927 and became a military intelligence agent. His job was to gather information about secret societies in Shenyang. During this period, he studied kung fu with a local martial arts master named Chen Liang. After the Mukden Incident of 1931,[30] he was transferred to the Japanese army's intelligence unit in Beijing. Introduced by Chen Liang, he became a student of Master Wen, a former Shaolin disciple and the twentieth heir of the Yihe Sect of the Shaolin school. According to Doshin's memoir, he visited Shaolin Monastery in Dengfeng in autumn 1936 with Chen Liang and Master Wen, where he was made the successor to Master Wen. The visit to Shaolin is described as follows:

> The layout of the monastery was similar to other Chan monasteries built in the Tang dynasty. It was magnificent. However, the ancient buildings were not maintained properly and the monastery was in a devastated state. There was a Buddha statue with a white robe in the middle of the Guanyin Hall. The wall murals showed Shaolin monks performing kung fu. I was truly impressed by the murals. . . .
>
> A ceremony was held in the monastery and I became the successor of the Yihe sect. The Shaolin warrior monks performed one-man and two-man drills for us. The standard was far from spectacular. The superior martial arts skills depicted in the murals have been lost.[31]

The War

While the Buddhists were battling against the Nationalist government's discriminatory religious policy, the full-scale Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937. It lasted for eight years and led the Chinese nation to the verge of collapse. The central government in Nanjing was forced to move to Chongqing in southwest China. The most populated and developed regions in southern, eastern and northern China were under the shadow of the Japanese. Although Japan's land forces did not reach the remote regions in the west, Japanese air forces bombed the major cities and counties in Sichuan, Shanxi, Gansu and Ningxia provinces, with numerous civilian casualties.[32]

Zhao Suisheng stated, 'During the war, Japanese policy often condoned deliberate, calculated brutality in an attempt to break the spirit of Chinese resistance.'[33] The Buddhist community suffered accordingly. The Japanese occupiers often suspected the clergy of providing shelter and support for Chinese resistance, and killed suspects without hesitation.[34] Massacres took place in some Buddhist monasteries, and a large number of monks and nuns became war refugees.[35]

Resistance became the only choice for the Chinese. The civil war, which had lasted for almost ten years, was suspended, and the Communists and Nationalists formed a united front to resist the Japanese invasion.[36] Farmers and city dwellers, rich and poor, old and young, Han and ethnic minorities, the entire nation was involved in the war.

Chinese Buddhists fulfilled their national responsibilities and provided substantial support to the state in the battle against the Japanese. Eminent monks spread Buddhist messages of resistance. Monks in the areas controlled by the Chinese forces conducted military training, and many joined the army. Some committed themselves to rescue work and first aid in the battlefront. Others performed ritual services for the soldiers and the nation and organised donation campaigns to raise funds for the army. Many monks in Japanese-occupied areas were involved in guerrilla warfare.[37]

Shaolin was no exception. Soon after the outbreak of the war, Shaolin monk Shi Xingzhang, who was temporarily enrolled (Guadan) in Jade Buddha Monastery (Yufo Si) in Shanghai, provided first aid to Chinese soldiers during the Battle of Shanghai (13 August–26 November 1937). After the fall of Shanghai, he returned to Shaolin. While KMT troops battled Japanese forces in Henan Province in 1944, Xingzhang organised a Red Cross team to assist the Chinese resistance forces.[38]

In the early 1940s, an underground Chinese Communist Party (CCP) member named Wei Nianming arrived in Shaolin and became a teacher in the Shaolin secondary school established by Shaolin monks Shi Zhenxu (1893–1955), Shi Sudian (1878–1946), Shi Dechan (1907–1993) and Shi Yonggui in 1941. Mobilised by Wei Nianming, several Shaolin secondary

school graduates joined the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army. Three Shaolin monks—Shi Yonggui, Shi Xingfang and Shi Xingxiang—became underground CCP members.

After the Japanese captured Dengfeng County, an Anti-Japanese District was established in Shaolin Monastery. Wei Nianming was appointed Mayor and Shi Yonggui was made Vice-Mayor. Several monks and students from Shaolin joined the district militia to carry out guerrilla warfare against the Japanese occupants and their puppet troops headed by local warlord Li Laohu (?–1945).[39] In 1945, the Shaolin militia joined several military operations led by the CCP's Yanshi Independent Regiment and successfully ambushed Japanese troops in the Mount Song region.[40] The Shaolin militia also assisted the Eighth Route Army in the battle of Dengfeng in August 1945.[41]

Nevertheless, Shaolin monks were aware of their commitment to Buddhist principles of non-violence, tolerance and compassion. Influenced by patriotism and nationalism, they justified their participation in guerrilla warfare as an effort to save the country and serve the people. They believed that although Buddhists should avoid killing, it was their obligation to protect lives and relieve them from suffering. As Shaolin monk Shi Suxi (1924–2006) stated:

> Mahāyāna Buddhism emphasises the universal salvation of all human beings. The Chinese people suffered greatly during the war. Many civilians who live in Dengfeng and the Mount Song region were killed by the Japanese. They showed no mercy to either the clergy or laity. We joined the resistance because this was the only way to achieve national salvation and this was patriotism. We fought for the salvation of our people who were suffering the Japanese invasion. By doing so, we did not violate Buddhist principles, rather we achieved merit.[42]

He recalled:

> When the Japanese army arrived, the monks in Shaolin held different opinions. Some believed that clergy should not get involved in politics. Others advocated the idea that both the clergy and civilians should be patriotic and everyone should join the resistance. During the first few battles, most of the monks dared not shoot. They did not wish to kill. But when they saw their comrades shot down, when they saw civilians looted and killed, they changed their mind. I saw Shi Xingzhang kill a soldier in a battle fought on the east side of Shaolin. After the battle concluded, he prayed in front of the soldier's body for a long time.[43]

After Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allies in August 1945, several Shaolin monks left the monastery and joined the Communist

army. Shi Xingfang rose through the ranks to become a division commander. Shi Xingxiang followed the Communists to Shaanxi Province and became a police chief in the city of Xi'an.[44]

As with their battles against Japanese and Chinese pirates during the Ming dynasty, the Shaolin monks' military involvement in the Second Sino-Japanese War was later interpreted in many works of historical literature as further evidence of the monastery's patriotic tradition, helping to establish Shaolin's reputation as a symbol of national identity.

Also after the war, martial arts expert Doshin So returned to Japan in 1946. One year later, he founded the Shorinji Kempo—literally 'Shaolin Monastery combat methods'—in Tadotsu, Kagawa Prefecture, to teach kung fu and Chan Buddhist philosophy. In the following decades, the Shorinji Kempo expanded throughout Japan and became one of the most influential martial arts societies in the country. It started to spread to foreign countries in the late 1960s and early 1970s and functioned as a pioneer in introducing Shaolin kung fu to the international community. By 2014, the Shorinji Kempo had established branches in more than 36 countries around the globe.[45]

Introducing Shaolin Kung Fu to a Wider Audience

After the establishment of the Republic, fuelled by a nationalism that focused on anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, national unity and national revival, educationalists and politicians used sport and physical education to strengthen the young nation state. The 1910s saw the rise of militaristic and social Darwinist forms of school physical education. The objective was to cultivate martial spirit and develop the strength of the nation. A number of government decrees and policies were issued to this end.[46]

In the context of the official promotion of sport and physical education, and spurred on by popular nationalism and militarism, many believed that Chinese martial arts suited the national character of China and should be promoted to unite the Chinese people, improve physiques and revive the nation. In 1911, a campaign was launched by Ma Liang (1875–1947), military governor of Shandong Province and a renowned martial arts expert from the Shaolin school, to promote martial arts education. Ma believed that Chinese martial arts was a national treasure which should be used to improve Chinese people's health and build up their physical strength, and thus serve the goal of national revival.[47] Mobilised by Ma Liang, martial arts experts in Shandong produced a textbook series entitled *Chinese New Wushu* (Zhonghua Xin Wushu, CNW). The textbook series covers four subject areas: boxing and kicking skills, wrestling skills, staff skills and sword skills, based on the martial arts exercises for soldiers developed by Ma Liang in the 1900s.[48]

The CNW system was revised in 1914 and implemented in a martial arts training centre in Jinan established by Ma Liang. It was later introduced to martial arts societies and schools in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Jiangsu and Shandong provinces.[49] Ma also used his army connections to lobby leading politicians, which successfully led to the army and the police adopting CNW as a training programme in 1917.[50]

Ma Liang's initiative to promote wushu education was supported by many physical educationalists. In 1916, the Ministry of Education sent a working group to Shandong Province to inspect the CNW programme.[51] The feedback was encouraging. A resolution was passed by the Ministry of Education at the October 1918 National Secondary School Principals Congress to encourage schools to include CNW in their curricula. In the same year, the Fourth National Education Conference approved the proposal to introduce CNW to the higher education sector.[52] Simultaneously, the textbook series was published by the Shanghai Commercial Press. The initiative was supported by state leaders. President Feng Guozhang (1859–1919), Prime Minister Duan Qirui (1865–1936) and several other important political and military figures wrote endorsements for the series.

CNW aims to provide a scientific and systematic way of teaching and learning. The techniques belong to the Shaolin school, as is clearly explained in the two textbooks for kickboxing skills and staff skills. Ma Liang states in the preface of *Chinese New Wushu: Kickboxing Skills*:

> According to Li Jing of the Tang dynasty, after Bodhidharma left *Muscle Development Classic* in Shaolin Monastery, Shaolin monks began to study and practise wushu. This was the beginning of kickboxing skills. These wushu techniques have been passed down from generation to generation. They became widespread in society and have been improved over the course of time. Today, [Shaolin kung fu] has become a unique and invincible school of martial arts, and the best among all. There are many schools of kickboxing. They all originate from Shaolin kung fu and share similar principles and features.[53]

In the endorsements for *Chinese New Wushu: Staff Methods* (Zhonghua Xin Wushu: Gunshu Ke), then President of the Republic of China Feng Guozhang points out that the staff methods in the textbook were invented by Shaolin monks:

> Ma Zizhen [Liang] used to teach combat skills to his soldiers and colleagues. Based on the teaching programmes, he produced the textbook on kickboxing. Now he has compiled another book on staff methods. The term 'gun' (staff) first appears in historical writings published in the Sui and Tang dynasties . . . it was called 'ting' in the *Book of Han* . . . and 'bang' in the Northern Wei dynasty . . .

> the staff methods we see today were developed by Shaolin monks in the Sui and Tang dynasties . . . wushu practitioners would normally study kickboxing skills first, to improve their strength and flexibility. They would then study staff skills in order to advance to the next level.[54]

Leading enlightenment thinker Liang Qichao (1873–1929) also contributed an endorsement to *Chinese New Wushu: Staff Methods*, in which he reviews the history of Shaolin kung fu and tells the legend of the 13 Shaolin monks who assisted Li Shimin in the expedition against warlord Wang Shichong in 621, and highlights the political importance of Chinese martial arts in serving national salvation:

> By the end of the Daye period of the Sui dynasty, the world was in chaos. Thousands of bandits arose. One group of bandits attempted to attack Shaolin. Some of the monks wanted to flee. An old monk attacked the bandits with a staff. The bandits were frightened and dared not enter the monastery. The old monk taught staff methods to one hundred monks. Emperor Taizong of Tang launched an expedition against Wang Shichong. Shaolin monks assisted the emperor and used their staff skills to defeat the enemies. Thirteen monks were rewarded [by the emperor]. . . .
>
> Since the Ming and Qing dynasties, firearms have gradually begun to rise and wushu has declined accordingly. . . . Ma Zizhen [Ma Liang] employed wushu to train the soldiers, and this approach is very effective. He learned the staff methods from Master Ping of Baoyang. Master Ping was the student of Master Meng in Nangong. These staff methods belong to the northern branch of the Shaolin school. . . . I sincerely hope that all schools in China will add this training programme to the curriculum to help the Chinese people to acquire self-defence skills and cultivate their martial spirit.[55]

Influenced by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, which triggered an upsurge in nationalism in China, practising Chinese martial arts became widely recognised as a basic approach to achieving national salvation. CNW received stronger support from the government. In April 1919, the Ministry of Education issued a report called 'Proposals for the Development of Physical Education.' It stated, in a patriotic tone:

> Sport and physical education must represent the spirit of a nation. Our national skill [guoshu] carries the spirit of the Chinese nation. . . . It must be included in the curriculum and should be the most fundamental part of physical education.[56]

A few months later, in the fall of 1919, the State Council approved a resolution making CNW an official gymnastics programme for schools

and universities.[57] Subsequently, a nationwide campaign was launched to promote Chinese martial arts, to improve physiques and help cultivate martial spirit.

The promotion of Chinese martial arts in the education sector was accompanied by the rise of martial arts societies. In the 1910s and 1920s, hundreds of societies were established in major cities to study Chinese martial arts and provide training for the general public.[58] These societies shared the same goal: to promote wushu and improve the Chinese people's physical strength.[59]

The Pure Martial Athletic Association (Jingwu Tiyu Hui, PMAA), founded in 1910 by martial arts expert Huo Yuanjia (1868–1910), was the most influential martial arts society at the time.[60] The slogan of the society spells out its nationalist objectives: 'Promote Wushu, Study Sport, Train Strong Citizens for China.'[61] Supported by patriotic young people and state leaders, the PMAA developed rapidly following its establishment. Branches were established in Shaoxing (1911), Shanghai (1914), Hankou (1918) and Guangzhou (1919) to meet the increasing demand. In the years that followed, more and more branches were established in major cities, including Shantou, Foshan, Zhaoqing, Xiamen, Nanchang, Nanjing and Hong Kong. By 1920, the PMAA had grown into a nationwide organisation and members and graduates were hired by schools, universities, factories and communities to teach wushu. It had also expanded to foreign countries and established branches in major cities in Southeast Asia.[62]

Unlike Ma Liang's CNW, which was primarily based on standardised kickboxing, staff, spear and wrestling techniques, the PMAA intended to promote the teachings of all schools of martial arts, whether internal family or external family, Shaolin or Wudang, southern style or northern style.[63] A variety of kickboxing, wrestling and weapon skills were taught by martial arts masters from different schools.

Among the leading instructors of the PMAA were the Four Great Masters: Master of Eagle Claw, Chen Zizheng (1878–1933); Master of Praying Mantis Fist, Luo Guangyu (1889–1944); Master of Wu Style Taijiquan, Wu Jianquan (1870–1942); and Master of the Shaolin School, Zhao Lianhe (1883–1945). Zhao Lianhe was born in Jing County, Hebei Province. He started to practise wushu at an early age and joined the PMAA soon after its establishment. After Huo Yuanjia died in 1910, Zhao was appointed Chief Instructor of the Society. He served in the PMAA for more than 30 years and made a great contribution to the development of Chinese martial arts in general and Shaolin kung fu in particular.[64] He was the co-author of several important Shaolin kung fu manuals and textbooks published between the 1910s and 1930s, including *Bodhidharma Sword* (Damo Jian, 1930), *Gongli Fist* (Gongliquan, 1931), *Five-Battle Fist* (Wuzhanquan, 1920s), *Tan Kicking* (Tan Tui, 1929) and *Shaolin Defence Techniques* (Shaolin Quan Chai Fa, 1920s).[65]

Shaolin Five-Battle Fist is among the most popular and influential martial arts forms developed by Zhao Lianhe. It borrows elements from various traditional Shaolin unarmed combat forms and consists of five routines: the Unity Battle (Hezhan), the Retreat Battle (Tuozhan), the Big Battle (Dazhan), the Short Battle (Duanzhan) and the Cross Battle (Shizizhan).[66] It was regarded as the essence of Shaolin kung fu and was adopted by the PMAA as a basic training programme for students.[67]

The revival of Chinese martial arts in the 1910s and 1920s was a product of the rise of anti-imperialist sentiment and nationalism. As the most popular traditional sport and an integral part of Chinese culture, martial arts was used to make a rhetorical claim to Chinese identity. Practising, teaching and learning martial arts was equated with the survival and continued promotion of a national spirit. As both a tool for promoting health and a combat skill, Chinese martial arts was seen to serve the goals both of promoting individual fitness and of national salvation. With the combined efforts of the government, physical educationalists and martial arts societies, people of all classes joined the campaign to promote this national tradition.

While the KMT was preparing for the establishment of the new government in Nanjing in 1926, a group of educators and politicians led by Zhang Zhijiang (1882–1966), Commander-in-Chief of the Northwest Division of the National Revolutionary Army, issued a public appeal to the government, requesting that the name of Chinese martial arts be changed from wushu to guoshu (national skills). The reason was simple: to bolster its prestige.[68]

In December 1926, a National Skills Academy was founded in Nanjing by Zhang Zhijiang, to promote guoshu. He and his supporters hoped that the Academy could get official support from the government. They lobbied KMT leaders and won support from many influential political figures. Finally, on 15 March 1928, the newly established Nanjing Nationalist Government announced that guoshu would receive official support and that a national academy would be established to serve this purpose. Nine days later, the Central National Skills Academy (Zhongyang Guoshu Guan, CNSA) was officially launched in Nanjing. Zhang Zhijiang was appointed director.

The CNSA was a semi-state educational institution placed under the Department of Education. Local governors were made directors of provincial and municipal CNSA branches. The Academy had four missions: to study guoshu, to teach guoshu, to publish guoshu textbooks and to organise guoshu-related activities.[69] With administrative and financial support from central and local government, the CNSA developed rapidly. Soon after its establishment, regional academies were set up around the country.[70] By the end of 1933, more than 24 provinces had established provincial-level CNSA branches.[71]

The association provided different levels of guoshu training programmes for children, teenagers and adults. Martial arts techniques from the different schools were taught. Popular guoshu styles were categorised into two divisions: Shaolin and Wudang. Tantui, Pigua, Chaquan, Xinyiquan and other external schools of martial arts were included in the Shaolin division. Taijiquan, Xingyiquan and Baguazhang were placed under the Wudang division.

In 1929, in order to avoid conflict between the Shaolin and Wudang divisions and facilitate exchanges among all schools of martial arts, the CNSA recategorised all schools and styles into three departments: the Department of Kicking and Boxing Skills, the Department of Wrestling and the Department of Weapon Skills. As in the PMAA, instructors from different schools, including the country's leading Shaolin kung fu masters Wang Ziping (1881–1973) and Gu Ruzhang (1894–1952), were hired to teach in the CNSA and its regional branches.[72]

The CNSA also developed a national examination/competition system, the All China National Skills Exam (Quanguo Guoshu Kaoshi, ACGE). The first ACGE was held in Nanjing between 15 and 20 October 1928, with some 330 contestants from 17 provinces and cities taking part. Contestants demonstrated various unarmed combat and weapon forms. Those who progressed to the finals challenged each other in wrestling, hand-to-hand combat and weapon combat competitions.[73] At the end of the event, contestants were awarded First Class, Second Class and Third Class Certificates. Five out of the 15 First Class Certificate winners were from the Shaolin school, reflecting the popularity of Shaolin kung fu among martial arts practitioners.[74]

With the rise of Ma Liang's CNW and the efforts of the PMAA and the CNSA, Shaolin kung fu developed alongside other schools of martial arts and continued to strengthen its influence in the martial arts community and in Chinese society. In this period, Shaolin kung fu manuals were published in great numbers to meet the increasing demand from martial arts enthusiasts and practitioners. These publications in turn boosted the development of Shaolin kung fu. Below is a list of some of the most popular Shaolin kung fu manuals of the time:

- *Key Principles of Shaolin Kung Fu* (Shaolin Quanshu Mijue, 1915)[75]
- *The Essence of Shaolin Kung Fu* (Shaolin Quanshu Jingyi, 1917)[76]
- *Shaolin Combat Skills with Illustrations* (Shaolin Quanfa Tu Shuo, 1921)[77]
- *The Shaolin School* (Shaolin Zongfa, 1923)[78]
- *Shaolin Combat Methods with Illustrations* (Shaolin Quanshu Tushuo, 1923)[79]
- *Shaolin Dual Blade* (Shaolin Shuang Dao, 1930)[80]
- *Bodhidharma Sword* (1930)[81]
- *Gong Zi Crouching Tiger Fist* (Gong Zi Fu Hu Quan Lue Li, 1930)[82]

- *Shaolin Staff Methods with Illustrations* (Xiezhen Shaolin Gun Fa, 1930)[83]
- *Authentic Shaolin Lianbu Kung Fu* (Shaolin Zhengzong Lian Bu Quan, 1931)[84]
- *Shaolin Kung Fu with Illustrations* (Shaolin Quan Tu Jie, 1931)[85]
- *Shaolin 72 Techniques* (Shaolin Qi Shi Er Yi Lian Fa, 1934)[86]
- *Shaolin 12 Styles* (Shaolin Shi Er Shi, 1934)[87]
- *Shaolin Guardian Arhat Fist* (Shaolin Hu Shan Zi Men Luohanquan, 1935)[88]
- *Shaolin School with Illustrations* (Shaolin Zongfa Tushuo, 1936)[89]
- *Baji Fist* (Bajiquan, 1936)[90]
- *Shaolin Breaking Wall* (Shaolin Po Bi, 1936)[91]

Key Principles of Shaolin Kung Fu (1915) was among the most important martial arts manuals published in the Republic of China era. It was based on *The Shaolin School*, an anonymous martial arts manual that circulated in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first printed version of the manual was published in 1911 in the *Tianduo Post* (Tianduo Bao), a popular Shanghai newspaper run by a group of Han nationalists and revolutionists. It was a reproduction of a handwritten copy kept by Lu Weichang (1883–1943), one of the co-founders of the PMAA.

The manual consists of eight chapters. Chapter one offers an introduction to qigong and explains the breathing skills and soft techniques (Roushu). Chapter two lists the five basic rules for practising Shaolin kung fu: 1. gradual development; 2. persistence; 3. abstinence; 4. be patriotic; 5. follow Buddhist rules and regulations. Chapters three, four, five and six offer detailed explanations of the theory, methods and practice of Shaolin combat skills. Chapter seven explores the origins and development of Shaolin Five Styles (Shaolin Wu Quan), one of the most popular martial arts forms of the time. Chapter eight offers definitions of the terms used for Shaolin combat skills.[92]

In the context of the Anti-Manchu Movement, *The Shaolin School* expresses nationalist sentiments and revolutionary ideas in a vague manner. For example, the 'Be Patriotic' section in Chapter two states:

> Our [Shaolin] school is infused with patriotism. We can't serve the country if we are physically weak. Our determination is firm and unrelenting. We train hard to build up our physique and we wait for opportunities. Every practitioner should understand this principle. One must not bully other members of the nation. This is a fundamental rule.[93]

When the manual was republished by the Zhonghua Book Company in 1915 under the title *Key Principles of Shaolin Kung Fu*, it was complemented

by five new chapters: 'The Doctrine of Chan Buddhism,' 'The Southern School and Northern School,' 'The Rules of Shaolin,' 'The Development of Shaolin in the Ming Dynasty' and 'Legendary Kung Fu.' More legendary stories were added to recount the history and development of Shaolin kung fu. Some minor revisions were also made to reinforce the links between Shaolin kung fu, patriotism and nationalism. For instance, the above-mentioned section in Chapter two of *The Shaolin School* was replaced by the following text:

> Our [Shaolin] school is infused with the spirit of revenge. The country was invaded and occupied by barbarians. We train hard to build up our physique and we wait for opportunities. . . . If Heaven lets the Han survive, we will succeed one day. Every practitioner should understand this principle. One must not bully other members of the nation. This is a fundamental rule.
>
> Note: Now the great Han has been revived. However, the country is now threatened by foreign aggression and is frequently invaded by imperialist powers. The pain we are suffering is ten times what the Ming loyalists experienced. Readers should be aware of this.[94]

In 1923, *The Shaolin School* was reprinted by the Academy of National Skills, this time complemented by *Shaolin Kung Fu with Illustrations* (1923), which includes 175 illustrated postures of Shaolin Five Styles: the dragon style, the tiger style, the leopard style, the snake style and the crane style. In 1936, *Shaolin Kung Fu with Illustrations* was published again by the National Skills United Monthly Magazine Press under the title of *The Shaolin School with Illustrations*.

Shaolin 72 Techniques is another important kung fu manual published in this period.[95] The author Jin Enzhong was born into a martial arts family in Beijing. He learned Shaolin kung fu and Hudou techniques at home and studied Tantui with Master Zhu Guanpeng, Shaolin Liuhequan with Master Yang Deshan and Xingong with Master Yin Dekui. He visited Shaolin Monastery around 1926 and received several kung fu manuals from Shi Miaoxing. He passed the All China National Skills Exam organised by the CNSA in 1928 and was made Chief Wushu Instructor of the First Brigade of the Northeastern Frontier Force of the National Army in 1929.[96]

Jin Enzhong was a patriot and a big supporter of Chinese martial arts. He believed that different schools should share their teachings and techniques. As he explains in the preface of *Shaolin 72 Techniques*:

> Our country's wushu is an important approach to strengthen the race and strengthen the country . . . all schools of wushu should share their teachings and techniques. This will help the development of wushu and make the country strong and powerful. This collection is based on the handwritten copies of [Shaolin] kung fu manuals

> from my teachers and wushu techniques that I have collected over the course of time. I have made them public now, and I hope these techniques can be improved by the readers.[97]

Some of the kung fu manuals do not include the word 'Shaolin' in the title, but the authors clearly explain that the techniques originate from Shaolin. For example, in the preface of *Gong Zi Crouching Tiger Fist*, author Lin Shirong (1861–1943) uses a modified vision of the Xilu Legend of the Heaven and Earth Society to tell the history of Gong Zi Crouching Tiger Fist, part of Hongquan, a dominant school of martial arts in Guangdong Province.[98] According to the story, the combat techniques were passed down by Chan Master Zhishan of the Fujian branch of Shaolin Monastery. Influenced by nationalism, anti-imperialist sentiment and the Japanese aggressions against China in the 1910s and 1920s, the Xilu barbarians were replaced by the Japanese army:

> During the Yongzheng period of the Qing dynasty, Taiwan was occupied by the Japanese. The Qing government sent its standing army to fight against the Japanese, but they were defeated. When the Qing troops returned, they passed Shaolin Monastery in Fujian. Shaolin monks joined the Qing army and they recaptured Taiwan. The Qing government was satisfied with the victory and wanted to reward the monks. However, fearing that Shaolin monks might join revolutions, the government decided to destroy Shaolin and kill the monks. They transported grain to Shaolin and left it beside the wall of the monastery. They then set fire to the grain, and the monastery burned down. Some monks escaped, fleeing to several provinces. Chan Master Zhishan fled to Guangdong Province and settled down in Haizhuang Monastery in southern Guangzhou. He taught wushu in the monastery.[99]

In addition to Shaolin kung fu manuals, starting in the late 1920s, a new generation of Chinese scholars began to study the history and theory of Shaolin kung fu. Book chapters, journal articles and monographs were published to this end.[100] By the late 1920s, Shaolin was widely acknowledged as a supporting pillar of Chinese martial arts and the cradle of various schools. This is explained in some of China's earliest historical works on martial arts. For example, in *History of National Skills* (Guoshu Shi), published in 1932, Li Yingcheng highlights the important place of Bodhidharma and Shaolin in the history of Chinese martial arts:

> It is believed that our country's wushu started from the State of Qin during the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 BCE). However, there is no historical evidence to support this view . . . in ancient times human beings battled against animals for survival. They then battled against

> each other for power and resources. They used hand-to-hand combat first and later invented weapons to fight. This is the origin of martial arts . . . by the Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BCE), martial arts had become popular and gave rise to militarism. The Qin (221–206 BCE) dynasty saw the rapid development of martial arts and the rise of jiaodi . . . during the Northern Wei dynasty (386–535), Bodhidharma invented martial arts exercises to cultivate one's body and mind. From then on, martial arts became popular among civilians. Based on Bodhidharma's teachings, Venerable Master Jueyuan developed a series of unarmed combat and weapon skills. From the Tang to the Ming dynasties, the development of martial arts followed a tortuous course. It declined in the Qing dynasty. Now, in order to strengthen China, the government openly supports the promotion of wushu. Wushu is starting to revive.[101]

Li Yingcheng then explores the main schools of unarmed combat techniques from the internal family and the external family, and points out that the external family originates from Shaolin:

> Bodhidharma invented the Eighteen [Arhat] Hands to improve practitioners' physical fitness. It was developed by his disciples into a well-rounded system of martial arts. In the Tang dynasty, headed by Tanzong, the [Shaolin] monks assisted Emperor Taizong to defeat Wang Renze. Since then Shaolin has become famous for its martial arts.
>
> Venerable Master Jueyuan inherited Bodhidharma's teachings and made efforts to improve these traditional martial arts skills . . . he met Mr Li in Lanzhou. Li introduced him to Master Bai in the Tongfu Monastery in Luoyang. He studied with Master Bai . . . he returned to Shaolin with Mr Li and Master Bai. Mr Li was famous for his Qinna[102] techniques . . . he also practised big and small Hongquan and specialised in staff techniques . . . the Shaolin staff methods were based on Mr Li's staff techniques. . . .[103]
>
> Based on traditional Shaolin kung fu, Master Bai and Venerable Master [Jueyuan] developed more than 170 postures that constitute five different sets of combat forms: the dragon style, the tiger style, the leopard style, the snake style and the crane style. These are the Shaolin Five Styles (Shaolin wu quan) people practise today . . . from then, Shaolin kung fu turned its focus from health promotion to combat. Master Bai is indeed a key figure in the history of Shaolin kung fu. . . .[104]
>
> Modern unarmed combat techniques can be divided into the internal family and the external family. The external family consists of the northern branch and the southern branch . . . according to previous studies, there are more than 300 schools of internal martial arts . . . the

> external family originated in Shaolin Monastery in Fujian Province. Fujian Shaolin kung fu originated in Shaolin Monastery in Henan Province (Shaolin of Mount Song). Henan Shaolin kung fu consists of three schools: 1, the Hong School, which focuses on rigidity; 2, the Kong School, which emphasises softness; 3, the Yu School, which blends rigidity and softness. The Yu School is further divided into the Dasheng Style (also known as Monkey style), the Arhat Style, the Erlang Style and the Skanda Style. There are also many other schools and styles, such as Emei Shaolin, Wudang Shaolin, Guangdong Shaolin.[105]

This view is affirmed by several other monographs on the history of Chinese martial arts, including *Theories of National Skills* (Guoshu Lilun Gai Yao, 1935) by Wu Zhiqing (1887–1951)[106] and *A Study of National Skills* (Guoshu Gailun, 1936) by Wu Tunan (1902–1989).[107] However, some scholars question whether Shaolin kung fu originated from the body exercises invented by Bodhidharma. In *A Brief Study of National Skills*, published in 1928, author Xu Zhedong (1898–1967), a lecturer on Chinese language and literature in National Central University, points out that Shaolin kung fu was not invented by Bodhidharma and that the so-called Shaolin kung fu described in *Key Principles of Shaolin Kung Fu* is actually a mixture of various schools of martial arts. He explains:

> The origin of Shaolin kung fu is not clear. Descriptions of Shaolin's martial tradition first appeared in Tang dynasty historical records. Records of Shaolin kung fu only started to appear in the Ming dynasty. Some people asserted that Shaolin kung fu was invented by Bodhidharma. In fact, *Muscle Development Classic* and *Tendon Washing Classic* were created to build up the foundation myth of Shaolin kung fu. . . .[108] *Key Principles of Shaolin Kung Fu* borrowed elements from various schools of wushu but failed to blend them into one unified system. Many of the theories and practices in the book contradicted each other.[109]

Xu Zhedong's view was supported by historian Tang Hao (1896–1959), Director of the Editorial Department of the CNSA. In 1930, Tang Hao published a monograph entitled *A Study of Shaolin and Wudang* (Shaolin Wudang Kao), which explores the history of Shaolin Monastery, the origins and development of Shaolin kung fu and the legends and myths surrounding Mount Wudang, the birthplace of the internal family of martial arts. He asserts that Bodhidharma's creation of *Muscle Development Classic*, *Tendon Washing Classic* and the Eighteen Arhat Hands were merely made-up stories.[110] Historical evidence shows that martial arts manual writers and novelists created legendary stories based on the life story of Bodhidharma, in order to increase the mystery of Shaolin kung fu and enhance its reputation.

In 1936, Xu Zhedong wrote an essay questioning the authenticity of the newly republished *The Shaolin School with Illustrations*. In it, he argues that the martial arts techniques described in the manual do not belong to the Shaolin school which emerged in the Ming dynasty. They are, instead, primarily based on the Xiang school of martial arts and borrow elements from both the northern and southern schools.[111]

In 1937, Tang Hao published an essay collection entitled *Xingjian Pavilion* (Xingjian Zhai Suibi), in which he explores the history of Shaolin warrior monks, Shaolin's patriarchal clan system, the origins of Shaolin combat techniques, the development of Shaolin staff methods, the monk soldiers who joined the battles against pirates during the Jiajing period of the Ming dynasty and the major destruction that Shaolin Monastery has suffered. He also examines the *Muscle Development Classic* and *Tendon Washing Classic*, and points out that these two popular Shaolin kung fu manuals were produced by Daoist priests rather than Buddhist monks.[112]

In 1941, Tang Hao published another monograph, *A Study of The Key Principles of Shaolin Kung Fu* (Shaolin Quanshu Mijue Kaozheng), to question the authenticity and reliability of *Key Principles of Shaolin Kung Fu*, used by many Shaolin kung fu manuals and historical works as a major reference source.[113] He points out that *Key Principles of Shaolin Kung Fu* is based on legendary stories circulated in the Heaven and Earth Society. The martial arts techniques in the book are borrowed from the Hongquan practised by members of the Society, as well as other popular martial arts techniques from both the internal and external families.[114]

Xu Zhedong and Tang Hao's research challenged the traditional view of the history of Chinese martial arts and helped academics and martial arts communities to achieve a better understanding of Shaolin kung fu. When Chu Minyi (1884–1946), Co-President of the Franco-Chinese Technical Institute in Shanghai, published *A Study of the Origins of National Skills* (Guoshu Yuanliu Kao) in 1936, Bodhidharma was no longer cited as the founder of Shaolin kung fu. Chu describes the history of Shaolin kung fu in an objective tone:

> Some argue that Shaolin kung fu originated in Shaolin Monastery in Mount Song in the late [Northern] Wei dynasty. If this hypothesis is true, Shaolin is indeed the pioneer of our national skills. However, descriptions of Shaolin kung fu did not emerge until the Ming dynasty.[115]

Tang Hao's contribution to Chinese martial arts was acknowledged by several influential figures in the martial arts community. Zhang Zhijiang, Director of the CNSA, commented in 1943:

> As we all know, Wudang and Shaolin are the two main schools of martial arts that formed over the course of time. Many absurd stories were

> built around them, causing a lot of debate. . . . After the [Nationalist] revolution, people began to promote guoshu. Enlightened people are trying hard to construct the core principles and ideas of guoshu. The wushu community has been negatively influenced by false ideas for so long. Now we use scientific methods to study and improve guoshu. We collect and study historical records and clear the myths surrounding guoshu. This is of vital importance to reviving the wushu community. . . . Mr Tang Fansheng [Tang Hao] studied the history of Wudang and Shaolin . . . this is a ground-breaking achievement in the wushu community. It is also a major contribution to academia. . . . I hope all wushu practitioners will unite [to promote Chinese martial arts] and eliminate the conflict between different schools. Legends and superstitious stories should not be used to attract or cheat people.[116]

Shaolin in Wuxia Novels and Movies

The revival of Chinese martial arts and Shaolin kung fu was accompanied by the rise of wuxia (martial arts hero) novels. Following the flourishing of martial arts stories in the Qing dynasty,[117] from the early 1910s onward a new generation of wuxia novels began to appear in magazines and newspapers, immediately becoming one of the most popular genres of Chinese literature.[118]

These wuxia stories can be divided into two main categories. In the first category are those based on the legends and myths of martial arts masters in the late Qing and early Republic of China eras. Plots are usually set against the background of major historical events such as the anti-Manchu revolts, the Hundred Days' Reform of 1898, the Boxer Rebellion and the 1911 Nationalist Revolution, reflecting the strong nationalist sentiment of the time.[119] Popular titles include Xiang Kairan's *Legends of Modern Chivalric Heroes* (Jindai Xiayi Yingxiong Zhuan, 1923), Yao Minai's *Legends of the Shandong Bandits* (Shandong Xiangma Zhuan, 1924) and Zhang Henshui's *Tales of the Knights in Zhongyuan* (Zhongyuan Haoxia Zhuan, 1936).

The second category of stories is set in ancient China. The heroes and heroines use wushu skills to fight evil forces and promote traditional virtues and norms. Xiang Kairan's *Legendary Heroes in the Jianghu* (Jianghu Qi Xia Zhuan, 1923), Wen Zhigong's *Tales of Loyal Knights* series (Bixue Danxin, 1930–1933) and Li Shoumin's *Legends of Shushan Swordsmen* (Shushan Jianxia Zhuan, 1932) were among the most influential titles.[120]

As an important segment of Chinese martial arts, Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu frequently appear in wuxia novels. The history of Shaolin and the legends of Bodhidharma and Kinnara King are incorporated into the stories. For example, Chapter 149 of *Legends of Shushan Swordsmen*

tells the story of an evil monk who tries to intimidate the Shaolin abbot but is defeated by a Daoist priest who comes to the rescue. The author describes Shaolin as follows:

> Shaolin enjoyed its golden age during the Yuan and Qing dynasties and accommodated many masters. . . .[121]
>
> Dongxiu's father told her before that there were many magical monks in the Shaolin Monastery in Mount Song. He once saw a monk launch a flying sword which killed a person ten miles away . . . they decided to visit Mount Song. . . . Although Shaolin was already famous by then, there were not so many visitors. The mountain paths were steep and difficult. Only those who were eager to learn kung fu would travel to the monastery. On their way to Mount Song, the two girls heard many incredible stories about Shaolin and were told that Shaolin monks were very decent and hard-working. They already felt that Shaolin was worthy of admiration and respect.[122]

Chapter seven of *Legends of Modern Chivalric Heroes* tells the story of Shaolin abbot Haikong challenging martial arts master Wang Donglin, Instructor of the Imperial Guards in Beijing. Surprisingly enough, the author interprets the origins of Shaolin kung fu in an objective tone:

> Instructor Wang Donglin was well known across the country for his superior fighting skills. A great master travelled to Beijing to challenge him. Who was this master? He was Abbot Haikong of Shaolin Monastery in Henan Province.
>
> In the Qianlong and Jiaqing period, many monks in Shaolin were wushu masters. Shaolin is a vast Buddhist monastery with a long history. It sits underneath Mount Song in the centre of the country. It normally accommodates between three hundred and five hundred monks. After the First Patriarch Bodhidharma achieved enlightenment, he left the formulas for internal martial arts training. In the Daye period of the Sui dynasty, a monk who worked in the kitchen fought off hundreds of rebels with a staff. After that, Shaolin staff methods became a school of Chinese martial arts.
>
> In fact, Shaolin's unarmed combat and staff techniques were not passed down from Bodhidharma and the stoker monk. As the idiom says: 'If there are more than one hundred people in a group, you can find people with expertise in various skills.' Shaolin is a massive monastery with a good location. It is not difficult to find wushu masters from hundreds of monks. If a Shaolin monk was good at martial arts, his wushu skills would be counted as Shaolin kung fu.[123]
>
> Haikong was tonsured as a monk in Shaolin. No one knows his past and it is not clear where he learned his martial arts skills. He lived in Shaolin for five years and was made abbot of the monastery.

> He practised Chan meditation and martial arts every day. Other monks who were good at martial arts were not able to challenge him. More than one hundred monks studied kung fu with Haikong. His body was as light as a swallow. He could walk on the snow without leaving footprints.[124]

Nationalism was one of the driving forces behind the success of wuxia novels in early twentieth-century China. These novels served the inheritance and preservation of the core values of Chinese tradition and stressed a sense of pride. They also provided readers with psychological compensation for foreign aggressions, imperialist expansion, warlords, ineffectual government and economic hardship, and functioned as an effective ideological instrument that contributed to the construction of national and cultural identities.

After the establishment of the Republic in 1912, Han nationalists moved away from anti-Manchuism and promoted the new idea of 'Five Races under One Union,' hoping to quell potential ethnic conflicts in China and reinforce a sense of national unity among all the ethnic groups.[125] However, anti-Manchu sentiment still ran high, dominating the mindsets of many Chinese people. This is reflected in wuxia stories, especially those based on the Xilu Legend of the Heaven and Earth Society and 'Shaolin's Five Founders.' Popular novels of this kind include *Shaolin Warriors' Heroic Battles* (Shaolin Yingxiong Xuezhan Ji, 1931) and *Zhishan's Three Travels to Nanyue* (Zhishan San You Nanyue Ji, 1931) by Deng Yugong; *Teenage Shaolin Heroes* (Shaolin Xiao Yingxiong, 1931) by Jiang Dielu; *The Burning of Shaolin Monastery* (Huo Fen Shaolin Si, 1930s–1940s) by Zheng Zhengyin; *Monk Sande's Three Visits to Xichan Monastery* (Sande Heshang San Tan Xichan Si, 1948);[126] and *Hong Xiguan's Adventure on Mount Emei* (Hong Xiguan Danao Emei Shan, 1949) by Chen Jing.[127]

The names of the main characters of these novels, such as Chan Master Zhishan, Monk Sande, Fang Shiyu, Hu Huiqian, Hong Xiguan and Miao Cuihua, are mostly taken from a late Qing novel, *The Prosperous and Great Qing Dynasty* (Sheng Chao Dingsheng Wan Nian Qing), in which they are described as villains from the Shaolin school (see Chapter 5 in this book). Due to the change in popular social and political ideology after the fall of the Qing dynasty, these fictional kung fu masters with a Shaolin background were portrayed by the new generation of novelists as folk heroes using superior combat skills to fight the evil forces backed by the Qing government. These novels satisfied Han readers, who were eager to celebrate their ethnic and cultural identity. As Chen Jing explains in the preface of *Monk Sande's Three Visits to Xichan Monastery*:

> You may ask why the stories in this book contradict *The Prosperous and Great Qing Dynasty*. I must explain this to you. *The Prosperous*

> *and Great Qing Dynasty* was composed by a late Qing writer. Shaolin was linked to the Ming loyalists who were eager to overthrow the Qing. They were condemned by the Qing court as traitors and criminals. If the author told the true story, he might be put in prison for literary inquisition . . . he had to distort the truth. So in his book, Chan Master Zhishan, Fang Shiyu and other Shaolin heroes are killed. I dare not disrespect [the Shaolin heroes]. I have collected martial arts stories circulated in the Qing dynasty and incorporated them into this book. The objective is to correct the mistakes made by late Qing writers and promote Shaolin kung fu.[128]

The plot of *Monk Sande's Three Visits to Xichan Monastery* is based on the conflict between the Shaolin school and the Wudang school. It clearly spells out anti-Manchu sentiment:

> Chan Master Zhishan assembled his disciples in the abbot's room and announced: 'Today's Shaolin and Wudang are like ice and coal that cannot co-exist. Wudang assists the Qing government to suppress our revolution. If we want to restore the Ming dynasty, we must defeat the Wudang school first.'[129]

The Wong Fei-hung/Huang Feihong series is another popular genre of wuxia novels published in the 1930s and 1940s. The plots are based on the legendary stories of Huang Feihong (1847–1924), a famous martial arts master, physician and folk hero from Foshan, Guangdong Province,[130] described by disciple Lin Shirong (1861–1943) as the inheritor of Hongquan, a branch of Shaolin kung fu passed down from Shaolin Chan Master Zhishan:

> [Shaolin] Monastery was burned down. . . . Chan Master Zhishan fled to Guangdong Province and settled down in Haizhuang Monastery in southern Guangzhou. He taught wushu in the monastery. Lu Acai was Zhishan's prime disciple. He transmitted the kung fu techniques to Huang Tai (Luzhou Village, Xiqiao, Hainan). Huang Tai transmitted the teachings to his son, Huang Qiying. Huang Qiying transmitted the techniques to his son, Huang Feihong.
>
> Huang Feihong served in Wu Quanmei and Liu Yongfu's army as a wushu instructor. In the Guangxu period . . . Huang Feihong was a subordinate of the provincial judge of Fujian, Tang Jingsong. At the request of the people, Tan Jingsong became the King of the Democratic Kingdom. Huang Feihong was made General-in-chief. Li Hongzhang led an army of thousands of soldiers to attack the Democratic Kingdom. Tang Jingsong and Huang Feihong fled to Guangzhou. They failed to launch another rebellion. Huang Fei-hung opened Bao Zhi Lin Medical Centre on Ren'an Street.[131]

After Huang Feihong died in 1924, his stories became the subject of many popular wuxia novels composed by Cantonese writers. He was shaped into an idealised image that represented traditional Chinese virtue and strength. Popular titles included *The Supplementary Stories of Wong Fei-hung* (Huang Feihong Bie Zhuan, 1933) by Zhu Yuzhai; *Wong Fei-hung* (Huang Feihong, 1938) by Dai Shaoyu; *The Legend of Wong Fei-hung* (Huang Feihong Zhuan, 1942) and the *Further Stories of Wong Fei-hung* (Huang Feihong Wai Shi, 1946) by Xu Kairu; *The Story of Wong Fei-hung* (Huang Feihong Zheng Zhuan, 1946) by Kuang Qitian; and *Further Tales of Wong Fei-hung* (Huang Feihong Zai Zhuan, 1947) by Zhongyi Xiangren. These novels greatly contributed to the spread of Shaolin kung fu culture in the Pearl River Delta region—the birthplace of the Heaven and Earth Society.

Owing to their overwhelming popularity, wuxia stories became among the most important sources for filmmakers. From the 1920s onward, both classic and modern wuxia novels and stories were turned into films and soon gained popularity. Between 1928 and 1931, more than 250 wuxia movies were produced in Shanghai, accounting for 60 percent of the films produced in this period.[132] These movies greatly facilitated the development of Chinese martial arts and played a vital role in the construction of a kung fu culture.

After the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, many novelists and film producers fled from Beijing, Guangzhou, Shanghai, Tianjin and other major cities to the British colony of Hong Kong[133] as refugees, turning the city into a hub of modern Chinese literature and film.[134] From the very beginning, Chinese martial arts established a dominant position in novels and films produced in Hong Kong. *The Adventures of Fong Sai-yuk* (Fang Shiyu Da Leitai, 1938) was one of the first martial arts films produced in Hong Kong.[135] The main character, Fang Shiyu, is from the Shaolin school.[136]

By the late 1940s, the film industry had taken root and was flourishing in Hong Kong. Many of the wuxia novels published in the 1920s and 1930s were adapted into films.[137] *The Story of Wong Fei-hung, Part One: Whip that Smacks the Candle* (Huang Feihong Zheng Zhuan Shangji: Bian Feng Mie Zhu, 1949) was among the first movies.[138] It integrates authentic martial arts forms and had huge success.[139] With increasing demand from the market, a total of 60 Huang Feihong sequels were produced in the 1950s, making Shaolin hero Huang Feihong an emblem of the Hong Kong film industry and, more importantly, integral to Cantonese and southern Chinese popular culture and identity.[140]

Conclusion

Following the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911, the newly established Republic of China failed to unite the Chinese people under the banner of

nationalism and patriotism. The country was carved up by warlords and suffered political chaos and instability. Shaolin was not exempt from the destructive warlord era, and was dragged into the conflicts between the Beiyang government, the warlords and revolutionary forces. In 1928, the monastery was torched by the warlord Shi Yousan. Discouraged by the Nationalist government's anti-Buddhist religious policy, Shaolin Monastery never recovered.

During the Second Sino-Japanese War, Chinese Buddhists fulfilled their national responsibilities and provided substantial support to the state. Shaolin was no exception. Several monks joined the district militia and took part in military operations against the Japanese occupants and their puppet troops. As in the battles against the pirates in the Ming dynasty, the Shaolin monks' military involvement in the resistance against the Japanese was later interpreted as evidence of the Monastery's patriotic tradition, helping to establish Shaolin's reputation as a symbol of national identity.

In the Republic of China era, spurred on by a modern Chinese nationalism and aided by militarism, Chinese martial arts was widely recognised as a basic approach to improving individual fitness and aiding national defence. Shaolin kung fu developed alongside other schools of martial arts and continued to strengthen its influence in Chinese society. In this period, Shaolin kung fu manuals were published in great numbers to meet the increasing demand from martial arts enthusiasts and practitioners. Chinese scholars also began to study the history, theories and practice of Shaolin kung fu.

As the cradle of Chan Buddhism and an important supporting pillar of Chinese martial arts, Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu were regarded as symbols of indigenous virtue and strength and therefore became popular in wuxia stories and movies. Living in an era of rapid social transformation and influenced by the prevailing nationalism and militarism generated by revolutions, foreign aggressions, imperialist occupations and wars, Chinese novelists and movie producers consciously or unconsciously used legendary Shaolin heroes to invent a cultural identity, and aided the construction of a modern national identity among the Chinese during the infancy of the Republic. These wuxia novels and movies in turn helped Shaolin lay a rhetorical claim to Chinese identity.

Notes

1. Zhengzhou shi difang shi zhi bianzhuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Zhengzhou shi zhi* (Records of Zhengzhou city), vol. 8 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji Chuban She, 2000), 434. English translation by author. Courtesy of the Zhengzhou Local History Office.
2. Kang Youwei was China's leading philosopher, enlightenment thinker and reformer.
3. The term 'enlightenment' is here used to refer to an ideology that seeks to cultivate a sense of scientific and civic duty, to encourage people to form the

habit of being hard-working and industrious, and to promote national unity and the national spirit.

4. The Nationalist Party of China and the Chinese Communist Party formed the First United Front in 1922 to fight warlords in China. The National Revolutionary Army was established by the alliance to launch the 1926 Northern Expedition.
5. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1913: 'Chong xiu qian fo dian bei ji' (Renovate the Thousand Buddhas Hall); The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1916: 'Buxiu Shaolin si Jinnaluo dian bei ji' (Repair the Kinnara Hall); The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1919: 'Chong xiu Shaolin si bai yi dian di zang dian bei ji' (Renovate the Baiyi Hall and the Ksitigarbha Hall of Shaolin Monastery).
6. Also known as Yunsong Henglin (云松恒林).
7. Yucheng Wen, 'Shaolin si lishi gaishu' (A brief history of Shaolin Monastery), in *Shaolin wenhua yanjiu lunwen ji* (Shaolin culture studies essay collection), ed. Shaolin wenhua yanjiu suo (Beijing: Religious Culture Press, 2001), 13.
8. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1924: 'Dengfen xian senghuisi senghui jian Shaolin si baowei tuan tuanzong Henglin da heshang yixing bei' (Biography of the Head of Dengfeng County Buddhist Registry Master Henglin); The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1924: 'Dengfeng xian senghuisi senghui jian Shaolin si baowei tuan tuanzong Yunsong da heshang bei' (Head of Dengfeng County Buddhist Registry Master Yunsong).
9. Jingzhong Jin, *Shaolin qi shi er yi lian fa* (Shaolin 72 techniques) (Tianjin: Cheng wen hou shuju, 1934), 1–2.
10. Dali Cheng, *Shaolin wushu shi kao lue* (A study of the history of Shaolin) (Beijing: Religious Culture Press, 2016), 175.
11. Cheng, *Shaolin wushu shi kao lue*, 175–176.
12. Hongjun Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si* (Shaolin Monastery of Mount Song) (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chuban she, 2001), 475.
13. Xuegong Yang, 'Fan Zhongxiu: Cong caomang yingxiong dao geming doushi' (Fan Zhongxiu: From greenwoods hero to revolutionary), *Wenshi chunxiu*, no. 11 (2006): 40.
14. Wenlan Hu and Jinrui Zhu, 'Fan Zhongxiu yu Sun Zhongshan' (Fan Zhongxiu and Sun Yat-sen), *Shixue yuekan*, no. 1 (1994): 111.
15. Hu and Zhu, 'Fan Zhongxiu yu Sun Zhongshan', 113.
16. Jingzhong Jin, *Shaolin qi shi er yi lian fa*, 2. English translation by author. Courtesy of Shanxi People's Press.
17. Xue Yu, *Buddhism, War, and Nationalism: Chinese Monks in the Struggle against Japanese Aggression 1931–1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 21.
18. Dongchu Shi, *Zhongguo fojiao jindai shi* (A history of Buddhism in modern China), vol. 1 (Taipei: Dongchu Press, 1984), 346.
19. The New Culture Movement was launched in 1915 by Chinese enlightenment thinkers who intended to use Western models of democracy and science to address China's problems. They believed that traditional Chinese culture and beliefs, especially Confucianism, were major barriers to modernisation and should therefore be abandoned. Such views were reinforced during the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and became highly prevalent among intellectuals, nationalists and reformists. This led to the decline of traditional culture, religion and ethics and gave rise to atheism, scientism, evolutionism, nationalism and communism. Influenced by these movements, religion was condemned as superstitious, feudal and anti-scientific. All religions, including Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism and Christianity, suffered accordingly.

20. The May Fourth Movement was launched in Beijing on 4 May 1919 by students demanding national sovereignty and protesting against the Beiyang government's weak response to the Treaty of Versailles, which had transferred Germany's territory and rights in Shandong Province to Japan. The movement marked an upsurge in Chinese nationalism and gave rise to the Communist movement in China. It triggered a national revolution led by the Nationalists and Communists which ended the Beiyang government's rule in 1927.
21. Paul R. Katz, *Religion in China and Its Modern Fate* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2014), 21.
22. 'Regulations for Registering Temples' (Simiao dengji tiaoli, 1928), 'Standards to Determine Monasteries/Temples to be Abolished or Maintained' (Shenmiao cun fei biaozhun, 1928), 'Regulations for Managing Monasteries/Temples' (Simiao guanli tiaoli, 1929), 'Regulations for Overseeing Monasteries/Temples' (Jiandu simiao tiaoli, 1929). These decrees were designed to establish civic committees to oversee temple property, as well as to allow temples to be declared abandoned and taken over by the state.
23. Also known as Weixin Taixu (唯心太虛).
24. Also known as Taoguang Yuanying (韜光圓瑛).
25. Also known as Yanyin Hongyi (演音弘一).
26. Shi, *Zhongguo fojiao jindai shi*, 188–196; Katz, *Religion in China and Its Modern Fate*, 33; Yu, *Buddhism, War, and Nationalism*, 33–34.
27. The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1932: 'Chong xiu Shaolin si chu zu an da dian bei ji' (Renovate the main hall of the First Patriarch Temple); The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1932: 'Chong xiu chu zu an da dian juan zi hua yuan chou zi' (Donations for the renovation of the First Patriarch Temple).
28. Zengxin Lin, *Jiang Jieshi mi you Shaolin si* (Chiang Kai-shek's secret tour to Shaolin) (Zhengzhou: Henan Renmin chuban she, 1993), 9.
29. Lin, *Jiang Jieshi mi you Shaolin si*, 10–11.
30. In order to provide a pretext for the invasion, the Japanese dynamited a section of railroad owned by Japan's South Manchuria Railway on 18 September 1931. The Japanese Army, accusing Chinese dissidents of the act, responded with the invasion of Manchuria on 19 September 1931. This event is known as the Mukden Incident or the 9.18 Incident. It marked the beginning of the full-scale Japanese invasion of China.
31. Xia Mu, 'Zong Daochen yu Riben Shaolin wushu—shang' (Doshin So and Shaolin kung fu in Japan—1), *Jingwu*, no. 6 (2004): 48.
32. During the war, Japan initiated a series of terror bombing operations in China. Chongqing was one of the many targets. It suffered Japanese bombing between 1938 and 1943. The targets were usually residential areas, business areas, factories, schools and hospitals. More than 10,000 people were killed during the bombing. See: Jifeng Li, *Zhongguo kangri zhanzheng quan jilu 1931–1945* (China's Anti-Japanese War 1931–1945) (Nanchang: 21st Century Publishing House, 2015); Taiqi Luo, *Chongqing da hongzha* (Bombing of Chongqing) (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2015).
33. Suisheng Zhao, *A Nation State by Construction* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2004), 100.
34. Yu, *Buddhism, War, and Nationalism*, 152.
35. Youhe Zeng, 'Zhongguo fojiao zaoshou qinhua rijun baoxing kaocha' (A study of the destruction of Chinese Buddhism during the Japanese invasion), *The Voice of Dharma*, no. 7 (2015): 17–18.
36. During the Northern Expedition, which ended regional warlord rule in the early Republic, the KMT and the CCP cooperated in the First United Front to battle against the northern warlords. However, the KMT-CCP rivalry led to a split in 1927. This resulted in the KMT-ordered arrest and execution of

hundreds of CCP members in Shanghai in April 1927. In response, the Communists initiated the Nanchang Uprising on 1 August 1927. The uprising marked the beginning of the Chinese Civil War. The Communists were soon defeated by the Nationalists in the Fifth Encirclement Campaign (September 1933–October 1934) and began the Long March, which eventually brought the remaining Communist forces to Shanxi Province in 1935. After the Long March, and faced with the Japanese invasion, the CCP and the KMT were forced to form a united front against Japan in 1936. After the full-scale Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, both the CCP and the KMT compromised their principles in an attempt to counter Japanese invasion.

37. See: Xiaobing Li, 'Kangri zhanzheng shiqi zhongguo fojiao jie kangri sixiang yanjiu' (A study of the ideologies of the Chinese Buddhist community during the Anti-Japanese War), *Journal of Historical Science*, no. 4 (2000): 66–72; Guang Yu and Xianian Huang, 'Zhongguo fojiao jie yu kangzhan yundong yanjiu' (A study of the Chinese Buddhist community and the Anti-Japanese War), *The Voice of Dharma*, no. 7 (2015): 4–16; Xiaobo Lin, 'Kangri zhanzheng shiqi de zhongguo fojiao' (Chinese Buddhists during the Anti-Japanese War), *Religions in China*, no. 3 (2002): 44–45; An Hu, 'Kangri fenghuo zhong de fomen dizi' (Buddhists during the Anti-Japanese War), *Religions in China*, no. 2 (1995): 21–23; Second Historical Archives of China, 'Kangzhan chuqi fojiao tu canjia kangri jiuwang huodong shiliao xuan—shang' (Historical records of Chinese Buddhists' contribution to the anti-Japanese resistance and national salvation movement in the early stage of the Anti-Japanese War—1), *Republican Archives*, no. 3 (1996): 35–44; Second Historical Archives of China, 'Kangzhan chuqi fojiao tu canjia kangri jiuwang huodong shiliao xuan—xia' (Historical records of Chinese Buddhists' contribution to the anti-Japanese resistance and national salvation movement in the early stage of the Anti-Japanese War—2), *Republican Archives*, no. 4 (1996): 28–34.
38. Xinhua, 'Jiemi: Kangzhan qijian, Shaolin si de heshang zuole xie shenme' (Shaolin monks during the Anti-Japanese War), iFeng.com, 9 September 2015, http://fo.ifeng.com/a/20150902/41467850_0.shtml (accessed 5 September 2016).
39. Zhongmin Liu, 'Shaolin heshang dang quzhang' (Shaolin monk becomes mayor), *Zhongzhou Jingu*, no. 1 (1994): 6.
40. Qian De, 'Suxi: Shaolin zhizun 5' (Suxi: The hero of Shaolin 5), *Jingwu*, no. 5 (2005): 54–55; Qian De, 'Suxi: Shaolin zhizun xu' (Suxi: The hero of Shaolin 5–1), *Jingwu*, no. 6 (2005): 49–50; Qian De, 'Suxi: Shaolin zhizun 6' (Suxi: The hero of Shaolin 6), *Jingwu*, no. 7 (2005): 48–50; 'Kangri baoguo de Shaolin dizi' (The Shaolin monks who joined the resistance against the Japanese), *Fujian dangshi yuekan*, no. 5 (1993): 25.
41. Liu, 'Shaolin heshang dang quzhang', 6; 'Qianren daosong Suxi dashi', *Dongfang jin bao*, 16 March 2006.
42. Xinhua, 'Jiemi: Kangzhan qijian'.
43. Xinhua, 'Jiemi: Kangzhan qijian'.
44. Xinhua, 'Jiemi: Kangzhan qijian'.
45. World Shorinji Kempo Organization, www.shorinjikempo.or.jp/wsko/ (accessed 12 July 2016).
46. Shiming Luo, ed., *Zhongguo tiyu tongshi 1840–1926* (The history of sport in China, 1840–1926), 206.
47. Liang Ma, 'Zhonghua beifang wushu tiyu wushi nian jilue' (The history of wushu and sport in northern China in the past fifty years), *Tiyu yu weisheng* 3, no. 3 (1924): 3.

48. Xiaomei Lin, *Qingmo mingchu Zhohgguo wushu wenhua fazhan yanjiu* (The development of martial arts culture in the late Qing dynasty and the early Republic of China era) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press, 2012), 32.
49. Wushu Research Academy of the Sports Ministry, ed., *Zhongguo wushu shi* (The history of Chinese martial arts) (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chuban she, 1997), 329–330.
50. Lin, *Qingmo mingchu Zhohgguo wushu*, 33.
51. Luo, *Zhongguo tiyu tongshi 1840–1926*, 367.
52. Luo, *The History of Sport in China, 1840–1926*, 367.
53. Liang Ma, *Zhonghua xin wushu: Quanjiao ke* (Chinese new wushu: kick-boxing skills) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1918), I.
54. Ma, *Zhonghua xin wushu: gunshu ke*, I.
55. Ma, *Zhonghua xin wushu: gunshu ke*, I.
56. Zhongguo dier lishi dangan guan, ed., *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* (Collection of historical records of the Republic of China), vol. 3 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chuban she, 1991), 857.
57. Luo, *Zhongguo tiyu tongshi 1840–1926*, 367.
58. Boyuan Lin, 'Minguo shiqi minjian wushu zuzhi de jianli yu fazhan' (The establishment and development of martial arts societies in the Republic of China era), *Tiyu Wenshi*, no. 3 (1994): 14–15.
59. Luo, *Zhongguo tiyu tongshi 1840–1926*, 211.
60. The society's original name was the Pure Martial Gymnastic Society. It changed its title to the Pure Martial Athletic Association in 1916.
61. 'Jingwu tiyu hui shiliao xuan' (Selected historical records of the Jing Wu Athletic Association), *Dangan Yu Shixue*, no. 1 (1998): 16.
62. Luo, *Zhongguo tiyu tongshi 1840–1926*, 137.
63. 'Jingwu tiyu hui shiliao xuan', 16.
64. Tiesheng Chen and Lianhe Zhao, 'Jingwu hui bixiu quanfa: Shi zi zhan' (Compulsory combat skills of the Pure Martial Athletic Association: The cross battle), *Jingwu*, no. 10 (2007): 20.
65. Shan Zhang and Xitong Peo, eds., *Zhonghua wushu da cidian* (China wushu dictionary) (Nanjing: Jiangsu Science and Technology Press, 1994), 49.
66. Ministry of Education Sport Dictionary Editorial Board, ed., *Tiyu da cidian* (Sport dictionary) (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1984), 483.
67. See: Chen Tiesheng and Zhao Lianhe, *The Cross Battle* (shizi zhan) (Shanghai: Guoji Xuehui, 1923).
68. Central National Skills Research Academy, *Mr Zhang Zhijiang's Collection*, 38–44.
69. Dongxiao Yang, 'Zhang Zhijiang dianji guoshu guan' (Zhang Zhijiang laid the foundation for the Central National Skills Academy), *The New Century Weekly*, no. 22 (2008): 137.
70. 'Xueshu jigou ji xueshu tuanti: 6, Zhongyang guoshu guan' (Education institutions and organisations: 6, The Central National Skills Academy), in *Diyici Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* (The first yearbook of education in China), ed. Ministry of Education of the Republic of China (Shanghai: Kaiming Book Company, 1933), 1132–1135.
71. Luo and Zhao, *Zhongguo tiyu tong shi*, 165.
72. Nanjing CNSA, 'Benguan (Nanjing zhongyang guoshu guan) zhi jiao yuan ji xuesheng luli' (Records of staff and students of the Nanjing CNSA), *Guoshu zhoukan*, no. 148–149 (1936) in *Minguo guoshu qikan wenxian jicheng* (Collection of national skills journals published in the Republic of China era), vol. 25, ed. Yongxin Shi (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2008), 148–149.

73. 'Shehui jiaoyu gaikuang: 6, Zhongyang guoshu guan' (Education in society: 6, The Central National Skills Academy), *Diyici Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* (The first yearbook of education in China), ed. Ministry of Education of the Republic of China (Shanghai: Kaiming Book Company, 1933).
74. Zhongyang guoshu guan, ed., *Zhongyang guoshu guan dier jie guoshu guokao zhuankan* (Journal of the second national skills exam of the Central National Skills Academy) (Nanjing: Zhongyang guoshu guan, 1934), 12.
75. Zun wo zhai zhu ren, *Shaolin quanshu mijue* (Key principles of Shaolin kung fu) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shu ju, 1915).
76. Xilai chuzu Damo dashi, *Shaolin quanshu jingyi* (The essence of Shaolin kung fu) (Shanghai: Dasheng shuyju, 1917).
77. Hongshou Zhu, *Shaolin quanfa tu shuo* (Shaolin combat skills with illustrations) (Shanghai: Dadong shu ju, 1921).
78. Tiesheng Chen, ed., *Shaolin zongfa* (The Shaolin school) (Shanghai: Guoji xuehui, 1923).
79. Yichen Liu, ed., *Shaolin quanshu tushuo* (Shaolin combat methods with illustrations) (Shanghai: Guoji xuehui, 1923).
80. Cuiya Guo, *Shaolin shuang dao* (Shaolin dual blade) (Shanghai: Wuxia she, 1930).
81. Tiesheng Chen and Lianhe Zhao, *Damo jian* (Bodhidharma sword) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1930).
82. Shirong Lin, *Gong zi fu hu quan lue li* (Gong zi crouching tiger fist) (self-published by Shirong Lin, 1930).
83. Rongqiao Jiang, *Xiezhen Shaolin gun fa* (Shaolin staff methods with illustrations) (Shanghai: Shanghai shijie shuju, 1930).
84. Zhiqing Wu, *Shaolin zhengzong lian bu quan* (Authentic Shaolin lianbu kung fu) (Shanghai: Dadong shu ju, 1931).
85. Jiafu Jin and Yiming Jin, *Shaolin qun tu jie* (Shaolin kung fu with illustrations) (Shanghai: Wuxia she, 1931).
86. Jingzhong Jin, *Shaolin qi shi er yi lian fa* (Shaolin 72 techniques) (Tianjin: Cheng wen hou shuju, 1934).
87. Yusheng Xu, *Shaolin shi er shi* (Shaolin 12 styles) (Beijing: Beiping shi guoshu guan, 1934).
88. Xiatian Zhu, *Shaolin hu shan zi men luohanquan* (Shaolin guardian arhat fist) (Shanghai: Shangwu yin shu guan, 1935).
89. Tiesheng Chen and Weichang Lu, eds., *Shaolin zongfa tushuo* (Shaolin school with illustrations) (Shanghai: Guoshu tongyi yuekan she, 1936).
90. Ganjie Liao, *Bajiquan* (Baji fist) (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua shuju, 1936).
91. Dehua Yan, *Shaolin po bi* (Shaolin breaking wall) (Tianjin: Tianjin shanbao she, 1936).
92. See: Zun wo zhai zhu ren, *Shaolin quanshu mijue*.
93. Tiesheng Chen, ed., *Shaolin zongfa* (The Shaolin school) (Shanghai: Guoji xuehui, 1923), 9.
94. Zun wo zhai zhu ren, *Shaolin quanshu mijue*, 12.
95. The book was translated into English by Andrew Timofeevich and published under the title *Authentic Shaolin Heritage: Training Methods of 72 Arts of Shaolin* by Lulu Press in 2006.
96. Jingzhong Jin, *Guoshu minren lu* (Eminent national skills masters) (Taiyuan: Dagong bao, 1933), 1–2.
97. Jingzhong Jin, *Shaolin qi shi er yi lian fa* (Shaolin 72 techniques) (Tianjin: Cheng wen hou shuju, 1934), 2.
98. Lin, *Gong zi fu hu quan lue li*, I.
99. Lin, *Gong zi fu hu quan lue li*, I.

100. Major examples include: Renshan Zhou, 'Wudang he Shaolin zhi yi dian' (Differences between Shaolin and Wudang), *Jiangsu sheng guoshu guan niankan*, 1929 (Yearbook of Jiangsu Provincial National Skills Academy, 1929), Hao Tang, *Shaolin wudang kao* (A study of Shaolin and Wudang) (Nanjing: Zhongyang guoshu guan, 1930); Chengzhou Gu, 'Shaolin si ji qi sengtu zhilue' (The history of Shaolin and Shaolin monks), *Tiyu* 3, no. 1–11 (1935); Zirong Shen, 'Shaolin di pai lian quan de shi tiao jie yue' (Ten rules of the direct line of descent of the Shaolin school) *Guoshu zhoukan*, nos. 150–151 (1936); Hao Tang, *Shaolin quanshu mijue kaozheng* (A study of the key principles of Shaolin kung fu) (Taiyuan: Shanxi kexue jishu chuban she, 1941).
101. Yingcheng Li, *Guoshu shi* (A history of national skills) (Hangzhou: Jiyi Hezuo Book Company, 1932), 1–2.
102. Qinna is the set of grappling and locking techniques used in Chinese martial arts.
103. Li, *Guoshu shi*, 6–7.
104. Li, *Guoshu shi*, 7.
105. Li, *Guoshu shi*, 18–19.
106. Zhiqing Wu, *Guoshu lilun gai yao* (Theories of national skills) (Shanghai: Dadong Book Company, 1935).
107. Wu, *Guoshu gailun*.
108. Xu, *Guoji lun lue*, 13–14.
109. Xu, *Guoji lun lue*, 17.
110. Hao Tang, *Shaolin Wudang kao; Taiji quan yu nei jia quan; Nei jia quan* (A study of Shaolin and Wudang: Taiji and the internal family: The internal family) (Taiyuan: Shanxi kexue jishu chubanshe, 2008), 38–39, 98.
111. Tang, *Shaolin quanshu mijue kaozheng*, 175.
112. Hao Tang, *Xingjian zhai sui bi* (Xingjian pavilion) (Shanghai: Shanghai Zhongguo wushu xiehui, 1937), 63.
113. Tang, *Shaolin quanshu mijue kaozheng*, 3–4.
114. Tang, *Shaolin quanshu mijue kaozheng*, 80–87.
115. Minyi Chu, *Guoshu yuanliu kao* (A study of the origins of national skills) (Nanjijng: Zhengzhong shu ju, 1936), 34.
116. Hao Tang, *Shaolin wudang kao; Taiji quan yu nei jia quan; Nei jia quan* (A study of Shaolin and Wudang: Taiji and the internal family: The internal family) (Taiyuan: Shanxi kexue jishu chubanshe, 2008), 9–11.
117. The development of martial arts stories in pre-modern China can be divided into five stages: 1. The beginning in the Qin (221–206 BC) and Han (206 BC–AD 220) dynasties: *Prince Dan of Yan* (Yan dan zi), 'The Legend of Gan Jiang and Mo Ye' (Gan jiang mo ye) and 'Li Ji Slays the Snake' (Li Ji zhan she) in *In Search of the Supernatural* (Sou Shen Ji). 2. The formation in the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) dynasties: *Tale of Xie Xiao'e* (Xie Xiao'e zhuan); *The Negrito Slave* (Kunlun nu); *The Tale of Nie Yin Niang* (Nie Yin Niang); *The Tale of Red Thread* (Hongxian Zhuan); *Wife of Jia* (Jia Ren Qi) and *The Woman in the Carriage* (Che Zhong Nu Zi). 3. Reaching maturity in the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1271–1368) dynasties: *Records of Strange Magician-Technicians in the Jianghuai Region* (Jianghuai Yiren Lu) and 'Chevaliers' (Haoxia) in *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (Taiping Guangji). 4. Further development in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644): *Water Margin* (Shuihu); *Lost Tales of the True Way* (Chan Zhen Yi Shi); 'Love Stories of Chevaliers' in *History of Love* (Qingshi). 5. Flourishing in the Qing dynasty: *The Green Peony* (Lu Mudan Quanzhuan); *Tales of Heroes and Heroines* (Ernu yingxiong zhuan); *Three Heroes and Five Gallants* (San Xia

Wu Yi); *Seven Swordsmen and Thirteen Gallants* (Qi Jian Shi San Xia) and *Quelling the Bandits* (Dang Kou Zhi).

118. Yibing Cao, 'Lun Zhongguo wuxia xiaoshuo cong gu zhi jin de yanbian' (The historical development of Chinese wuxia novels), *Research into Ming and Qing Dynasties Novels* 67, no. 1 (2003): 78.
119. Yu Yang, 'Minguo wuxia xiaoshuo niaokan' (A study of wuxia novels of the Republic of China era), *Min guo chun qiu*, no. 3 (1994): 35–36.
120. See: Qingdong Kong, 'Minguo jiupai wuxia xiaoshuo jian lun' (A brief introduction to old-style kung fu novels during the Republic of China), *Journal of Suzhou College of Education* 30, no. 2 (2013): 6–10.
121. Shoumin Li, *Shushan jianxia zhuan* (Legends of shushan swordsmen), vol. 3 (Shijiazhuang: Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 2015), 249.
122. Shoumin Li, *Shushan jianxia zhuan*, vol. 3, 250–251.
123. Xiang, *Jindai xiayi yingxiong zhuan*, vol. 2, 33.
124. Xiang, *Jindai xiayi yingxiong zhuan*, vol. 2, 33.
125. The idea of 'Five Races under One Union' meant that the five major ethnic groups in China (Han, Manchu, Mongol, Hui and Tibetan) would unite together under the Republic.
126. Wo shi shan ren, *Sande heshang san tan Xichan si* (Monk Sande's three visits to Xichan Monastery) (Guangzhou: Guangdong shang bao, 1948).
127. Wo shi shan ren, *Hong Xiguan danao emei shan* (Hong Xiguan's adventure on Mount Emei) (Guangzhou: Guangdong shang bao, 1949).
128. Wo shi shan ren, *Sande heshang san tan Xichan si*, I.
129. Wo shi shan ren, *Sande heshang san tan Xichan si*, 15–16.
130. Weifang Zhao, 'Xianggang dianying zhong de wuxia lishi renwu Huang Feihong' (Huang Feihong in Hong Kong wuxia movies), *Arts Criticism*, no. 4 (2009): 40.
131. Lin, *Gong zi fu hu quan lue li*, I.
132. Leilei Jia, 'Zhongguo wuxia dianying: yuan liu lun' (On the origins of Chinese wuxia movies), *Film Art*, no. 3 (1993): 25–30; Li and Hu, *Zhongguo wusheng dianying shi*, 239; Suyuan Li and Jubin Hu, *Zhongguo wusheng dianying shi* (A history of Chinese silent films) (Beijing: China Film Press, 1996), 239.
133. Hong Kong lies at the southeastern tip of China. It became a British colony in 1841 after the Qing government lost both Opium Wars.
134. Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*, 92.
135. Peng Fu, 'Xianggang gongfu dianying zhong de minzu zhuyi shuxie' (Nationalism expressed in Hong Kong kung fu movies), *Arts Criticism*, no. 7 (2010): 9.
136. 'Fong Saiyuk and Wu Waikin's Three Visits to Wudang Mountain' (Fang Shiyu Hu Huiqian san tan wudang shan, 1949); 'Fang Shiyu's Nine Battles at Emei Hill' (Fang Shiyu yi zhan emei shan, 1949); 'How Fong Sze Yu Undertook a 10,000 Mile Journey for Vengeance' (Fang Shiyu wan li bao shi chou, 1949); 'Fong Sze Yu Sets Fire to Hong-Yun Monastery' (Fang Shiyu huo shao hong yun si, 1949).
137. Christina Klein, '*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*: A Diasporic Reading', *Cinema Journal* 43, no. 4 (2004): 24.
138. Weifang Zhao, 'Xianggang dianying zhong de wuxia lishi renwu Huang Feihong' (Huang Feihong in Hong Kong wuxia movies), *Arts Criticism*, no. 4 (2009): 40; Feng Pu, 'Huang Feihong na fu ji dongxi-Huang Feihong dianying de zhuanbian lichen' (The transformation of Huang Feihong movies), in *Pop Hong Kong: Reading Hong Kong Popular Culture, 2000–2010*, vol. 1, ed. Junxiong Wu, Zhiwei Zhang and Zhongjian Zeng (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational Publishing Company, 2012), 157.

139. Ken-fang Lee, 'Far Away, So Close: Cultural Translation in Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4, no. 2 (2003): 285.
140. Chaowen Yao, 'Xiangtu Zhongguo chuangzao wenhua xiangxiang de shijie qiguan—bai bu Huang Feihong dianying jinisi jilu de qishi' (The worldwide marvellous spectacle of Chinese country culture as an enlightenment from more than 100 films of kung fu master Wong Feihong), *Academic Research*, no. 3 (2013): 135.

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7 Surviving Socialist Reforms

> Shogen[1] composed the pagoda inscription for Yirang,[2]
> It reminds me of the Tang monk[3] who studied in India.
> Flowers bloom and close, repeating the circle of life,
> Why not leave the sadness in the past and look positively to the future?[4]
>
> Guo Moruo (1892–1978),[5] 1973

The year 1949 is a milestone in modern Chinese history. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) defeated the Nationalist Party (KMT) in the civil war and established the People's Republic of China (PRC). The CCP initiated a series of reforms in the early 1950s to build up a socialist economic system. The Agrarian Reform Law was enacted on 28 June 1950, confiscating landlords' property and wealth and redistributing it to the country's farmers. The landlord class was eliminated. The reform satisfied the farmers who comprised the majority of the population. With regard to the economy, the government extended state ownership to industry and the financial sector. This resulted in the reorganisation and nationalisation of private enterprises. By 1952, economic stability had been restored.[6]

In the realm of religious affairs, similar to the positions adopted in former dynasties, the Communist government issued policies and decrees to establish control over religious institutions to serve the interests of the state. The CCP divided popular religions into two categories: foreign and national. This was explained in detail by Premier Zhou Enlai (1898–1976) at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on 25 June 1950:

> In our country, there are two categories of religion: 1. National religions such as Islam and Lamaism. These religions are linked to ethnic issues. Respect for them equals respect for ethnic minorities. Any disrespect may cause misunderstandings and troubles. 2. Religions that are linked to politics. For example, Catholicism and Protestantism, which have close ties with imperialist powers.[7]

Campaigns were launched to reform both foreign and national religions. Christian churches were required to cut off ties with foreign

countries and organisations and drive out foreign influence. Foreign priests and bishops and foreign leaders of religious orders were expelled. Chinese Christians were mobilised to join a patriotic movement to make their churches and organisations self-ruling, self-supporting and self-propagating.[8]

With regard to national religions, the reform focused on eliminating feudal elements in Buddhism, Daoism and Islam, in other words to abolish aristocracy and clerical privileges, end private land ownership and reduce the clergy's power and influence. The main task was to confiscate the land of religious institutions and redistribute it to farmers. The policy was explained in Article 3 and Article 13 of the Agrarian Reform Law issued in June 1950:

> The rural land belonging to ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, churches, schools, organisations and other land owned by public bodies shall be requisitioned. . . . Mosques can keep their land with the approval of local Muslim communities. . . . Monks, nuns, priests and imams shall be allocated the same amount of land and various means of production as the farmers, if they wish to take up agriculture and don't have other skills to generate income.[9]

The Impact of Religious Reforms on Shaolin

As one of the biggest landowners in the Mount Song region, Shaolin Monastery became a prime target of the religious and land reforms. By the late 1940s, Shaolin owned over 2,000 acres of land across Dengfeng County, Gong County, Meng County, Yanshi County and Yu County. More than 150 households in nine villages surrounding Shaolin worked for the monastery as tenant farmers.[10] Following the passing of the Agrarian Reform Law in 1950, a government working group was sent to Shaolin to explain and implement the new policy. All the land owned by Shaolin was confiscated and distributed to local farmers. Many young monks returned to lay life, as they were offered land and various means of production by the government. Fewer than 20 monks chose to stay, and they were allocated 28 mu (4.6 acres) of land and two cows.[11]

Since the monks no longer received rent from tenant farmers, they had to work on the farm themselves and find other ways to generate income.[12] Shi Xingzheng (1914–1987), the leader of the remaining monks, took the lead by selling coal on the street to raise funds for the monastery.[13] Headed by the monk Shi Suxi (1924–2006), several monks began working in a Buddha statue factory in Nanyang, Henan Province, staying there for over a year. They brought home 160 silver dollars (approximately RMB 160) and the money was used to cover the monastery's operating and repair expenses.[14] Suxi's selfless contribution is praised in a poem composed by the Shaolin monk Shi Deqian:

> As a role model of filial piety,
> Suxi devoted his life and blood to supporting his teacher.
> Travelling three thousand miles,
> He provided food and clothing to the monks.[15]

When the government began to implement the Agricultural Collectivisation Movement in 1951,[16] the monastery was incorporated into the Shaolin Village Mutual Aid Group to share draught animals, labour and tools with local farmers. The monks had to devote more time and energy to farming activities and cut down time spent on religious practice. In this period, despite financial difficulties, Shaolin continued to provide shelter and food for homeless people and asylum seekers.[17]

In August 1950, a Religious Affairs Research Committee was established under the Ministry of Culture to provide policy support on issues related to religious affairs. In January 1951, the Department of Religious Affairs was founded under the Commission of Culture and Education of the Government Administration Council to oversee the production and implementation of religious policies. A few months later, on 16 June 1951, the central government issued a policy document entitled 'The CCP Central Committee's Instruction on Issues Regarding Han Buddhism' to guide the reform of Buddhism and protect famous Buddhist monasteries as cultural heritage. It stated:

> Famous Buddhist mountains and monasteries, and monasteries/temples with cultural and historical value, shall be carefully protected and preserved. They shall not be occupied or damaged. Ordinary monasteries and temples that have been vacant, or that the resident monks wish to hand over to the government, can be taken over by the state. In major cities with a large population of monks and nuns, major monasteries should be preserved and be managed and used by monks and nuns, so that they can perform rituals. This will make them feel that their rights of religious freedom are protected. . . .[18] [The government] should provide special support to eminent monks and nuns. [Officials] shall not discriminate against monks and nuns who are firm believers. [The government] must protect their freedom of religious belief.[19]

The policy was soon implemented across China. As one of the most famous Buddhist monasteries in Henan Province, Shaolin received support from the government. Funded by the state, repair works were carried out by the Dengfeng County Culture Centre to repair the Thousand Buddhas Hall in 1951 and 1952.

In the following years, the CCP continued to push forward religious reform. The strategy was to ally with pro-government clergy from all religions to implement the religious policies. Mao Zedong (1893–1976),

Chairman of the PRC, explained at the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on 4 August 1952:

> The link between Buddhism and imperialism is not apparent. This religion was primarily influenced by feudalism. The anti-feudalism campaign affected Buddhist monks because of the land ownership issue. But this would only undermine the interests of the abbots and senior monks. Ordinary monks like Lu Zhishen[20] will be liberated. I am not a Buddhist believer, but I am not against the idea of establishing a [national] Buddhist association. We should ally with the Buddhists against the enemies.

Subsequently, the Buddhist Association of China (BAC) was established in Guangji Monastery in Beijing on 30 May 1953, made up of 121 members from seven ethnic groups. Prominent Linji Chan Master Shi Yuanying (1878–1953)[21] was made President. After Yuanying died in September 1953, Tibetan Buddhist Master Geshe Sherab Gyatso (1884–1968) succeeded him. The slogan of the BAC was:

> Unite all Buddhists in China; promote world peace and protect the mother country under the leadership of the people's government; assist the people's government to implement religious policies; unite the Buddhists across the country to promote the good traditions of Buddhism.[22]

One year later, the Constitution of the PRC, adopted on 20 September 1954 by the First National People's Congress, offered legal protection for religious freedoms. Article 88 of the Constitution stated: 'Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief.'[23] In November 1954, the Administration for Religious Affairs (ARA) was established under the State Council to oversee all religious affairs.

In the meantime, the state provided funding to renovate famous Buddhist monasteries and temples. As early as 1953, the Dengfeng County United Front Work Department sent a team to inspect the condition of Shaolin Monastery and produced a report on Shaolin's damaged buildings and relics.[24] In 1954, the Dengfeng County Culture Centre appointed a staff member named Gong Xi to act as coordinator for renovation projects for Shaolin.[25] In March 1956, the Dengfeng County government and the Henan Province Department of Culture issued two notices to urge local farmers and workers to avoid damaging Shaolin and other historical sites and cultural relics when conducting water conservation projects.[26] In February 1957, Dengfeng County Mayor Jia Jinchun submitted an application to the Henan Province Department of Culture, requesting RMB 60,000 of funding for a major renovation project for the monastery. He explained:

> Shaolin is a famous monastery with a great reputation among the Chinese people. It is also well-known in Buddhist countries such as India and Burma. Since the liberation [of 1949], the monastery has been frequented by visitors from various parts of the country. However, due to the lack of maintenance, Shaolin is in a devastated condition. Many visitors have suggested that we renovate the monastery. . . . There are many historical sites in our county. . . . We are determined to protect them. . . . During the KMT's reign, many historical sites and relics [in Dengfeng County] were severely damaged. Shaolin suffered major destruction in 1928. Most of the main buildings were burnt down by the warlord Shi Yousan. The monastery used to have approximately one thousand rooms. Only about one hundred rooms survived the fire. None of the remaining buildings are properly maintained and they are in poor condition, with leaking roofs. For example, the interior and wall murals of the Thousand Buddhas Hall have been damaged by rising damp and roof leaks. Many roof trusses have been affected by damp and rot, and they will not last long . . . the monastery is in danger. Renovation is urgently needed to save Shaolin from further decay. If we don't act now, the consequences will be serious.[27]

Between 1951 and 1963, the government provided RMB 102,500 to Shaolin on four occasions to repair the monastery's main buildings, pagodas and wall murals.[28] In June 1963, Shaolin Monastery, the First Patriarch Temple and the Shaolin Pagoda Forest were declared to be Key Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the Provincial Level by the Henan provincial government.[29]

Although Shaolin had lost its land and now accommodated fewer than 20 monks, its fame and popularity had not declined. Several Shaolin monks were invited to join training programmes organised by the Bureau of Religious Affairs and the BAC. In 1958, Shi Xingzheng and Shi Miaoxing (1906–1986) attended a national training programme for Buddhists in Wuhan, Hubei Province. In 1960, Shi Suxi and Shi Miaoxing joined the Buddhist Academy of China in Beijing as students.[30] They graduated in 1962 with higher education degrees.[31]

In addition, the monastery was visited by influential political figures and the country's leading intellectuals and artists (see Table 7.1). In 1964, to answer the call from tourists and local residents, the government hired workers to extend and pave the road from Dengfeng to Shaolin. This was recorded in a notice issued by the Dengfeng County government on 7 January 1964:

> The public road to Shaolin is part of the main route from Dengfeng [County] to Yanshi [County]. More importantly, it serves the tourists who come to visit Shaolin, a famous historical and cultural site that

> is closely linked to the national image. In recent years, due to a lack of maintenance, the road has deteriorated and become almost unusable. To answer the call from domestic and foreign visitors and local residents, [the government] approved the application for a repair project in the final quarter of 1963 and decided to initiate the project in the first quarter of this year.[32]

The Further Decline of Shaolin

In the late 1950s, encouraged by the first Five-Year Plan which had substantially promoted industry, the CCP adopted radical policies to consolidate the socialist system, boost economic growth and facilitate modernisation. In May 1957, the Anti-Rightist Campaign (ARC) was initiated to purge party members, intellectuals and critics who appeared to favour capitalism and did not support communist and socialist ideologies. More than 550,000 people were labelled rightists or capitalist roaders and were imprisoned or sent to labour camps for 're-education.'

Although the ARC primarily focused on intellectuals and politicians, it touched every aspect of Chinese society. Thousands of religious leaders and members of the clergy were persecuted. For example, Daoist priest Yue Chongdai (1888–1958), abbot of the Palace of Great Clarity (Taiqing Gong) in Shenyang and President of the Chinese Daoist Association, was accused of being a rightist in April 1958 and committed suicide in

Table 7.1 Important Visitors to Shaolin Between 1956 and 1964.[33]

Name	*Occupation*	*Year*
Tian Han (1898–1968)	Drama Activist	1956
Dong Biwu (1886–1975)	President of the Supreme People's Court	1958
Xu Teli (1877–1968)	Member of the Seventh and Eighth Central Committee of the CCP	1958
Xie Juezai (1884–1971)	Minister of Civil Affairs	1958
Chen Yi (1901–1972)	Foreign Minister	1958
Li Dequan (1896–1972)	Minister of Health	1958
Xu Linlu (1916–2011)	Painter	1958
Hu Qiaomu (1912–1992)	Member of the Eighth Politburo of the CCP	1958
Li Zhun (1928–2000)	Writer	1958
Wu Lengxi (1919–2002)	Head of Xinhua News Agency; Editor-in-Chief of the *People's Daily*	1958
Xu Guangping (1898–1968)	Writer; Vice-President of the All-China Women's Federation	1958
Xu Xiangqian (1901–1990)	Marshal of the People's Liberation Army	1961
Ye Jianying (1897–1986)	Marshal of the People's Liberation Army	1962
Zhou Yang (1907–1989)	Literary Theorist	1962
Xie Tian (1914–2003)	Actor	1962
Li Xiannian (1909–1992)	Vice-Premier	1964

May 1958.[34] Ma Zhenwu (1895–1961), leader of the Islamic sect Jahrinya and Vice-President of the China Islamic Association, was imprisoned and died in 1961.[35]

In December 1957, Beijing launched the Great Leap Forward (GLF) in an attempt to fix the imbalance between industry and agriculture, drag China out of the mire of poverty and backwardness, and catch up with the capitalist countries in a short period of time.[36] Farmers were mobilised to participate in the construction of water conservation and land improvement projects. Agricultural cooperatives were merged into People's Communes. Private land ownership was abolished. State media and local governments put forth grandiose statements of colossal achievements. By mid-1958, the illusion of a boom in agriculture had taken shape, so the campaign moved on to its second stage—producing steel and overtaking the United Kingdom in steel output. A nationwide mass steel production campaign was initiated. Small steel furnaces were set up in every commune and urban neighbourhood. Farmers, workers, soldiers, civil servants and students were assembled to produce steel.

During the GLF, thousands of monasteries, temples, churches and mosques were closed down or converted for the purposes of agricultural and industrial production. The clergy joined the farmers and workers in heavy labour and had to reduce the frequency of religious activities. This resulted in the further decline of Buddhism and other religions.[37]

The GLF ended in total failure. Due to a lack of knowledge of metallurgy and without access to proper facilities, the output from small steel furnaces consisted of useless, low-quality lumps of pig iron. At the same time, harmful commune innovations resulted in chaos in the agriculture sector. A food crisis emerged due to the disturbance of farming activities. The GLF ended in 1960, in the midst of the Great Famine of 1958–1961 that resulted in millions of deaths and the economic crisis of 1960–1962. The clergy suffered accordingly.[38] By the early 1960s, religious gatherings and activities had begun to diminish in most parts of the country.[39]

The situation went from bad to worse when Mao Zedong launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. There were two main objectives. The first was to regain control over fundamental party decisions, which were increasingly being influenced by right-wing CCP leaders headed by Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969). In addition to this power struggle, Mao wanted to use the Cultural Revolution to re-establish the ideological purity of communism. He hoped that it would 'touch people to their very souls'[40] and awaken their ideological consciousness, so that the people would liberate themselves through class struggle against those who were taking the capitalist road. The result was chaotic and violent political upheaval accompanied by ferocious ideological debate that engulfed the whole country. It led to purges, persecution and social chaos, and brought the country to the verge of collapse.[41]

The Cultural Revolution opposed everything regarded as bourgeois, capitalist and revisionist. Campaigns were launched by the government and the rebels/Red Guards in all areas to eliminate elitism and feudalism. People were encouraged to declare a war against feudalism by abandoning the 'Four Olds'—old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits. Religion came to be regarded as a major symbol of the Four Olds that should be totally abandoned. Article 88 of the Constitution, which offered legal protection for religious freedoms, was ignored. The ARA and the CCP United Front Department (UFD), in charge of religious affairs, ceased to function. Cadres from the ARA and UFD were attacked by rebels and condemned as capitalist roaders and counter-revolutionists who surrendered to feudalism by promoting superstition and providing support for 'monsters and demons' (niugui sheshen).[42] Most religious venues were closed down, statues and relics were destroyed, and religious scriptures were burnt. Monks, nuns, priests and imams were subjected to mass struggle sessions. They were mocked, harassed, tortured and imprisoned. Some were persecuted to death, and many were forced to return to lay life.[43]

Shaolin Monastery was soon affected by the political turmoil. The monks were verbally and physically abused by various groups of rebels and forced to stop performing rituals or wearing Buddhist robes. Despite this, they tried their best to save religious artefacts and relics.[44] Led by Shi Xingzheng, the monks moved important monument steles, scriptures, statues and tablet inscriptions out of the monastery and hid them in secret locations.[45] In 1966, rebels ransacked Shaolin. They attempted to destroy the wall murals and Buddha statues in the Thousand Buddhas Hall, the Guanyin Hall and the Kinnara Hall, and even tried to use explosives to blow up the pagoda forest.[46] The monks risked their lives to stop them.[47] Finally, a protective order was issued by Premier Zhou Enlai to save this place of unique cultural heritage.[48]

Thanks to the monks' efforts and the protection order, and also due to its remote location, Shaolin became one of the few religious institutions lucky enough to survive the violent political campaigns launched by the rebels. Surprisingly enough, at the height of the Cultural Revolution in 1968, the monastery was visited by several leading politicians and intellectuals, including Minister of Public Security Zhao Cangbi (1916–1993), scientist Qian Weichang (1912–2010), poet Zang Kejia (1905–2004) and renowned novelist Xie Bingxin (1900–1999).[49] On 4 December 1969, the Dengfeng County Revolutionary Committee issued a policy document entitled 'Suggestions on Reinforcing the Protection of Cultural Relics.' Together with several other Buddhist sites in Dengfeng, Shaolin was included on the protection list.[50]

The Cultural Revolution faced a setback in early 1970 when Vice-Chairman of the CCP Lin Biao (1907–1971), who was expected to be the successor to Mao Zedong, believed that he was losing power and thus began to plan a secret coup against Mao.[51] The coup ended in failure and

Lin Biao was killed in an airplane crash on 13 September 1971 while attempting to escape to the Soviet Union.[52] The incident sent a shock wave through the CCP and the country as a whole, and people began to question the Cultural Revolution.[53] Zhou Enlai began to take charge of the central government. Many high-ranking government officers and scholars ousted as revisionists and anti-revolutionaries in the 1960s returned to power. The State Council held meetings to discuss how to restore agriculture, industry, the economy and education.

Shaolin benefited from this policy change. In April 1971, the Dengfeng County Revolutionary Committee[54] sent an application to the Henan Provincial Revolutionary Committee, requesting funding to renovate the monastery. Subsequently, a Henan Provincial Bureau of Educational, Cultural and Health Affairs inspection team was sent to Dengfeng in May 1971 to evaluate the condition of the monastery's main buildings.[55] Shi Xingzheng also travelled to Beijing to seek support from the central government and the BAC. Finally, in September 1972, funding of RMB 75,000 was allocated by the provincial government to restore Shaolin's main gate and repair the Guanyin Hall and the Thousand Buddhas Hall.[56]

In 1973, the Henan Provincial Development and Planning Commission provided 120 square metres of timber for Shaolin.[57] After the first phase of the renovation project was complete, in July 1975 the Dengfeng County government again requested additional funding of RMB 136,850 from the Henan provincial government to repair the Thousand Buddhas Hall and the wall murals.[58] In total, the Dengfeng County government submitted 11 applications to the provincial government between 1971 and 1976[59] and secured more than RMB 200,000 to renovate Shaolin Monastery and the First Patriarch Temple.[60]

In 1974, Shaolin Monastery began to be governed by the Dengfeng County Administration of Cultural Heritage. In order to generate revenue for the local government and the monastery, an admission fee of RMB 0.05 was introduced in September 1974.[61] Between 1974 and 1978, Shaolin was visited by more than 200,000 tourists, including leading politicians and important public figures such as Head of the Organisation Department of the CCP Central Committee Guo Yufeng (1919–2000), members of the Central Military Commission of the Party Xiao Hua (1916–1985) and Liang Biye (1916–2002), and President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences Guo Moruo (1892–1978). Eminent Buddhist layman and President of the BAC Zhao Puchu (1907–2000) visited Shaolin three times—in 1974, 1976 and 1978—reflecting the monastery's reputation and prestige in the Buddhist community and beyond.

The Survival of Shaolin Kung Fu

After the establishment of the PRC, the CCP inherited the KMT's sports policy. The All China Sports Federation (ACSF), a semi-government

organisation, was founded in Beijing in June 1952 to supervise, organise and promote physical education and sports. The objectives were to improve health, reinforce national defence and assist state-building. As an important cultural legacy and a popular traditional sport, Chinese martial arts received special attention from the government and the ACSF, and was now called wushu, literally meaning martial skills.[62] In November 1952, the ACSF was replaced by a new national governing body called the Central People's Government Physical Culture and Sport Commission (the Sports Ministry). An ethnic sports research committee was set up under the Sports Ministry to produce and implement policies regarding the development of wushu and other traditional sports.[63]

In November 1953, organised by the Sports Ministry, the National Ethnic Sports Show was held in Tianjin, with wushu as the main feature. Wushu practitioners performed unarmed combat and weapon forms from various schools, including Shaolin, Taijiquan, Bajiquan, Chaquan, Baguaquan and Tongbiquan. After the show, the Sports Ministry selected top wushu practitioners to perform for state leaders and university students in Beijing. Marshal Zhu De (1886–1976), Commander-in-Chief of the People's Liberation Army and Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government, commented: 'We must cherish this precious tradition of our mother country, which has lasted for thousands of years.'[64] Thereafter, encouraged by state leaders, a nationwide campaign to promote wushu was launched by the Sports Ministry and its local commissions.

In 1955, a Wushu Office was established under the Department of Practice of the Sports Ministry to oversee the development of wushu. In March 1956, Liu Shaoqi, Vice-Chairman of the CCP, instructed the Sports Ministry to 'make efforts to study and reform traditional sports such as wushu and qigong. Discover their scientific values and use various measures to promote wushu.'[65] One year later, wushu was officially recognised by the Sports Ministry as a competitive sport and a five-day wushu event was held in Beijing in June 1957.

In September 1958, the Chinese Wushu Association (CWA) was established in Beijing. Li Menghua (1922–2010), Vice-Minister of the Sports Ministry, was made President of the Association. Shaolin kung fu master Wang Ziping (1881–1973), who served as the head of the Central National Skills Academy's Shaolin Division during the Republic of China era, was appointed Vice-President. Subsequently, a national wushu competition was held in Beijing between 7 and 16 September, and after the event the CWA invited a group of specialists to produce rules and regulations for wushu competitions. Popular unarmed combat and weapon forms were categorised into four groups: Required Routine, Optional Routine, Duilian (two-person) Routine and Group Routine. Shaolin kung fu was included in the Optional Routine category.[66]

In addition to transforming wushu into a modern competitive sport, the government made efforts to promote wushu in the education sector. From the mid-1950s, some universities began to offer wushu modules for students majoring in physical education and sports studies.[67] In 1958, summoned by the Sports Ministry, the country's leading wushu experts worked together to produce a textbook series to standardise the teaching and studying of Changquan, sabre, sword, staff and spear techniques.[68] A major development took place in 1961, when wushu classes were included in the junior and senior circle physical education syllabus issued by the Ministry of Education. Primary and secondary schools were required to offer six and eight hours respectively of wushu classes each semester.[69]

The development of wushu in the 1950s and early 1960s was illustrated by the changes that took place in Shaolin. After the land reform, some Shaolin monks left the monastery and joined local schools and art troupes as wushu instructors.[70] In 1954, Shaolin kung fu performance was included in a Dengfeng County Traditional Arts Show organised by the government. In 1958, the government founded the Dengfeng County Amateur Wushu Sports School. Shi Degen (1914–1970), chief instructor of the Shaolin warrior monks, was invited to join the school as a wushu coach. He also taught Shaolin kung fu in the First Secondary School of Dengfeng, Chengxiang Primary School, the Dengfeng Yu Opera Troupe and the Henan Provincial Arts Troupe.[71]

After the issuing of the CWA Wushu Competition Rules in 1959, Degen took the initiative to reform Shaolin kung fu by adding Yu opera gymnastic techniques into Shaolin unarmed combat forms.[72] In 1962, invited by the Dengfeng County Culture and Education Department, Degen produced a wushu manual entitled *Summary of Shaolin Kung Fu* (Shaolin Wushu Gaiyao).[73]

At the same time, Shaolin monks and martial arts experts performed Shaolin kung fu for wushu fans and the general public. For example, a report published in *China Sports Daily* (Tiyu Bao) on 9 August 1962 describes the monk Shi Haideng (1902–1989) performing Shaolin kung fu in Chengdu, Sichuan Province:

> Recently, the wushu community in Chengdu organised a performance to greet the wushu master Haideng from Shaolin Monastery, who left his hometown eighteen years ago. The 53-year-old dharma master Haideng started to practise wushu at the age of nine. He used to serve as the wushu instructor of Shaolin Monastery. In recent years, he has been teaching Shaolin Meihua Jingquan to youngsters in Shanghai. He was warmly welcomed by the wushu community and kung fu enthusiasts in Chengdu. . . .
>
> The performance started with the hard qigong technique called Vajra Bell (Jingang Zhong). He did a one-arm handstand with his

> right fist and held the position for three minutes. . . . He then performed the Six Arhat Fist (Liutong Luohanquan). He did a back bend and touched his feet with his head. This is called the Arhat Lowers His Head (Luohan Ditou). After that, he performed a one-leg stand with his left leg touching the back of his head and pointing at the sky. . . .
>
> Two Fingers Chan (Er Zhi Chan) was the most amazing skill performed by Haideng. He turned onto his side with his legs straight and used two fingers to support his body for one minute. This skill requires more than ten years of hard practice. Dharma Master Haideng then performed the fire poker staff (Huotou Bang). He also performed the Shaolin Sword (Shaolin Duijian), Bare Hand Versus Sword (Kongshou Jin Jian), Sword Versus Spear (Dan Jian Jin Qiang) and other kung fu techniques with his disciples.[74]

In 1964, *People's China* reported on a martial arts performance by the Shaolin monk Degen and other wushu practitioners from Henan Province:

> Recently, a martial arts performance took place in Henan Province. Wushu practitioners performed traditional boxing and weapon skills. Henan Province is one of the birthplaces of Chinese martial arts. People in Henan have a long tradition of practising martial arts. Master Degen from Shaolin Monastery is a coach at Dengfeng County Amateur Wushu Sports School. He performed five traditional Shaolin kung fu forms and explained the unique features of Shaolin kung fu to the audience.[75]

During the Cultural Revolution, wushu, like other Chinese traditions, came to be regarded as representing feudal culture. Martial arts training and competition were condemned as superstitious practices. Wushu societies and organisations ceased to function and wushu practitioners had to practise in secret. Martial arts manuals and weapons were confiscated and destroyed by rebels. Famous wushu masters and outstanding coaches were accused of being loyal to feudalism, and being capitalist roaders and rightists. Many were humiliated, persecuted and imprisoned.[76]

It was not until the early 1970s that wushu began to revive. Wushu societies and schools were restored, and competitions resumed. The Dengfeng Amateur Wushu Sports School, which had closed in 1966, reopened in 1970. Shaolin kung fu masters Yang Jucai and Liang Yiquan were invited to teach in the school. In 1973, the Shaolin Wushu Excavation and Investigation Group was established to conduct research and help rediscover any available information on Shaolin kung fu.[77] These initiatives laid the foundation for the revival of Shaolin kung fu in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Constructing a Shaolin Culture

After the establishment of the PRC in 1949, due to the nationalisation of all sectors and the introduction of strict political censorship, films and books were produced mainly for the purpose of ideological construction. Their themes were limited to class struggle, ideological struggle, the May Fourth Movement, the Communist Revolution, the socialist reforms carried out in China, and so on. Wuxia novels and martial arts movies fell into the category of feudal superstition and were therefore banned by the government.[78]

By the mid-1950s, Hong Kong and Taiwan had become the places with the appropriate resources, talent and freedom to produce wuxia novels and martial arts films.[79] Headed by Liang Yusheng (1924–2009),[80] Jin Yong (1924–2018)[81] and Gu Long (1938–1985),[82] a new generation of wuxia novelists began to emerge.[83] As in the 'old school' of wuxia novels produced in the 1920s and 1930s, Shaolin Monastery and Shaolin kung fu frequently appear in the 'new school' of wuxia novels by Hong Kong and Taiwan writers. For example, in *Dragon and Tiger Fight in the Capital*, Liang Yusheng reviews the history of Shaolin and Chan Buddhism, describing Shaolin Monastery at Mount Song as the centre of Chinese martial arts:

> Xinru is a successor of Chan. Chan was founded by the Indian Master Bodhidharma who arrived in China during the Southern and Northern Dynasties. . . . Bodhidharma settled down in Shaolin Monastery at Mount Song, Henan. He faced the wall for ten years and created the 'Chan without words.' He was honoured as the first patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhism. Bodhidharma was not only an expert in Buddhist studies, he was also a wushu master. Legend has it that he composed two qi gong manuals entitled *The Muscle Development Classic* and *The Tendon Washing Classic* to teach people how to build up strength and qi energy. . . .
>
> The monk with big ears and a square face is Master Hongzhen from Shaolin Monastery. At the time, Shaolin and Wudang were the most influential schools. Shaolin was superior, with four branches: Putian in Fujian, Dengfeng in Henan (Mount Song), Nanhai Shaolin and Emei Shaolin. The four branches produced many kung fu masters. Shaolin Monastery at Mount Song was called the Centre of Martial Arts. There were 72 wushu techniques. One can survive in the Jianghu after mastering any one of these techniques. Taking palm techniques as an example, Shaolin is famous for the Iron Sand Palm, Black Sand Palm, Red Sand Palm, Golden Sand Palm, Lion Palm, Iron Pipa Palm, Iron Broom Palm, Banruo Palm and Changquan. There are more than 40 hidden weapons among the Southern and Northern schools. Shaolin holds more than 20 of them. Hongzhen is

> from the Bodhidharma Academy (only monks with first-class wushu skills can join the academy) of Shaolin at Mount Song.[84]

In Jin Yong's works, Shaolin is usually portrayed as a major school that represents the righteous group in the martial arts world. Monks and wushu masters with a Shaolin background are usually involved in conflicts between various schools and families, including Wudang, Qingcheng, Emei, Kunlun and Kongtong. Some of the main characters, such as Qiao Feng and the Shaolin monk Xu Zhu in *Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils* (Tian Long Ba Bu), study kung fu in Shaolin Monastery. In *The Smiling, Proud Wanderer* (Xiao Ao Jianghu), Jin Yong describes the superior status of Shaolin from the perspective of the main character, Ling Huchong:

> Ling Huchong observed: 'So two of them are from the Shaolin school and the other is from the Kunlun school. Since the Tang dynasty, the martial arts community has been headed by the Shaolin school. Shaolin's reputation is higher than the Five Mountains Sword Union. [Shaolin monks'] fighting capabilities must be superior to other schools. Shaolin abbot Fangzheng is highly respected in the wushu community. My teacher said that the Kunlun sword methods are unique, combining both speed and power. If these two schools allied with each other, they would be extremely powerful.'[85]

In Gu Long's works, Shaolin is portrayed as a superior school of martial arts. As described in *The Vast Desert* (Da Shamo, 1967) in the Chu Liuxiang series:

> Chu Liuxiang is familiar with all the martial arts schools, families and masters. . . . He knows that there are at least four or five people who can be called the top wushu master. Some argue that Master Tianfeng of the Southern Shaolin branch ranks the highest. Others believe that Venerable Master Leiting of the Baobao School is invincible. Some may say that the mysterious knight Blood Jacket Man can defeat any challenger with his sword methods. But others argue that the Blood Jacket Man won't stand a chance if he encounters Chu Liuxiang.[86]

In addition to the new-school wuxia novels, stories of legendary Cantonese folk heroes from the Shaolin school, notably Huang Feihong, Hong Xiguan and Fang Shiyu, remained popular among wuxia fans in the Pearl River Delta region. Headed by Chen Jing (?–1974), writers in Hong Kong continued to produce this unique subgenre. Popular titles included *Story of Fang Shiyu* (Fang Shiyu Zheng Zhuan, 1950), *Hong Xiguan's Three Attempts to Build Shaolin Monastery* (Hong Xiguan San Jian Shaolin Si,

1950) and *True Story of Huang Feihong* (Huang Feihong Zheng Zhuan, 1953) by Chen Jing; *Further Stories of Huang Feihong* (Huang Feihong Zai Zhuan, 1965) by Shi Xianshanren; and *The Battle of Dingjia Village* (Da Nao Dingjia Zhuang, 1970) by Ma Yun.

From 1957 onward, the novels of Liang Yusheng and Jin Yong began to be adapted into martial arts movies.[87] At the same time, with increasing market demand, a massive number of Huang Feihong and Fang Shiyu movies were produced by movie studios in Hong Kong, further boosting the development of the popular wuxia culture.[88]

By the mid-1960s, fanned by the Sino-Indian Border Conflict of 1962, the Sino-Soviet Split and the Vietnam War (1955–1975), an anti-imperialist and defensive nationalism, rooted in the feeling of national humiliation brought about by a series of defeats at the hands of imperialist and colonial powers in the late Qing and Republic of China era, prevailed in mainland China.[89] This defensive nationalism was consolidated by the Cultural Revolution and resulted in a surge of hostility toward major Western powers, namely the United Kingdom and the United States. A strongly xenophobic nativism spread to Hong Kong and triggered large-scale demonstrations against British colonial rule in 1967.[90]

Influenced by anti-imperialist and anti-colonial sentiments, from the late 1960s onward, martial arts films produced in Hong Kong began to form a new cultural imagination, one constituted by and constituting of popular nationalism.[91] This cultural imagination focused on reviving China and relied on the image of a muscular and masculine body 'accoutred' in the regalia of traditional Chinese martial arts.[92]

Many of these films were adapted from popular wuxia novels. The plots were usually set in the socio-historical context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wushu masters were portrayed as national heroes who had helped the Chinese to restore their confidence and dignity by defeating foreign fighters. Scenes of Chinese fighters thrashing Japanese karate practitioners and Western kick-boxers became stereotypical. The triumph of wushu over foreign forms of fighting integrated martial arts into a cultural and national identity.[93]

The Chinese Boxer (Long Hu Dou, 1970) was one of the first major works of this kind. It marked the beginning of the shift from depictions of traditional swordplay to modern martial arts films with a nationalist flavour. Set in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the story is about a Chinese wushu master defeating evil Japanese karate fighters and swordsmen. The movie was a huge success and topped the Hong Kong box office in 1970.

Two years later, Bruce Lee (Li Xiaolong, 1940–1973) hit the market with *Fist of Fury* (Jing Wu Men, 1972) and *Way of the Dragon* (Meng Long Guo Jiang, 1972), marking the beginning of a new era in martial arts films. *Fist of Fury* is set in early twentieth-century Shanghai. Bruce Lee plays Chen Zhen, a member of the Pure Martial Athletic Association

(see Chapter 6). The film is full of anti-imperialist sentiment and advocates a Chinese nationalism mixed with Confucian-based morality, filial piety, individual dignity, brotherhood and national honour.[94] Chen Zhen is portrayed as a national hero who helps his countrymen restore their confidence and dignity by defeating Japanese and Russian fighters, who represent the imperialist powers. In *Way of the Dragon*, the main character Tang Long (played by Bruce Lee) travels to Rome to help a relative whose restaurant is being targeted by the local mafia. He uses his wushu skills to defeat all the Italian gangs. The implication is that wushu is superior to foreign martial arts, and that China is no longer the 'Sick Man of East Asia.'

These new-school martial arts movies created a powerful form of nationalist discourse which spelled out 'the discontent of Hong Kong's inhabitants toward the British rule and associated that feeling with the racial and cultural memory of a distant China.'[95] As Li observed, 'To be nationalistic and anti-colonial, one's imagination turned to kung fu.'[96] This unique form of nationalist discourse was adopted by Hong Kong martial arts movies produced in subsequent years. Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu were among the most popular themes of these movies. From 1974, an increasing number of Shaolin kung fu movies came out in Hong Kong, most based on fictional rebellions by Shaolin monks against Manchu rule (see Table 7.2).

Five Shaolin Masters (Shaolin Wu Zu, 1974) was one of the most popular movies of this kind. The plot is based on the Xilu Legend of the Heaven and Earth Society (see Chapter 5). It tells the story of five monks who manage to escape from Shaolin after the monastery is torched by Qing soldiers. They then ally with Ming loyalists to battle against the Qing forces. In the end, the monks eliminate a group of soldiers and wushu masters sent by the Qing court. Two monks die in the battle, and the other three join the anti-Qing rebellion (see Figure 7.1). The movie was in the Hong Kong box office top five in 1974, and won Best Sound Design at the Twelfth Taipei Golden Horse Film Festival in 1975.[97]

Tiger of Northland (Bei Shaolin, 1976) is an interesting Shaolin kung fu movie produced in this period. It tells the story of a Chinese anti-Japanese activist who travels to Japanese-occupied Korea in the 1930s and uses Shaolin kung fu to assist Chinese refugees and Korean people in their fight against the Japanese colonists. It perfectly reflects the political reality of Hong Kong in the 1960s and 1970s. The theme song of the movie is filled with patriotism:

> The land is vast and the road ahead is uncertain.
> Under the iron heel,
> People can no longer hold back their grief and indignation.
> Let the oppression light the flame of anger.
> He shows no fear in front of the enemies,
> Even though they are as dangerous as snakes and scorpions.

Table 7.2 Shaolin Kung Fu Movies Produced in Hong Kong Between 1950 and 1976.

Title	*Theme*	*Year*
Burning of the Shaolin Monastery (Huo Shao Shaolin Si)	Anti-Qing Rebellion	1950
Seven Shaolin Heroes' Five Battles at Mount Emei 1&2 (Shaolin Qi Xia Wu Tan Emei Shan)	Ancient China	1950
Five Legendary Heroes of Shaolin (Shaolin Wu Da Qi Xia)	Ancient China	1951
Shaolin Kung Fu (Shaolin Gong Fu)	Folk Hero	1974
The Shaolin Boxer (Fujian Shaolin Quan)	Folk Hero	1974
The Monk from Shaolin (Shaolin Heshang)	Folk Hero	1974
Men from the Shaolin Monastery (Shaolin Zidi)	Anti-Qing Rebellion	1974
Five Shaolin Master (Shaolin Wu Zu)	Anti-Qing Rebellion	1974
Wong Fei-Hung's Shaolin Kung Fu (Huang Feihong Shaolin Quan)	Folk Hero	1974
Shaolin Warrior (Shaolin Sha Jie)	Ming Dynasty	1975
The 18 Bronzemen (Shaolin Si Shi Ba Tong Ren)	Ming Dynasty	1976
Shaolin Wooden Men (Shaolin Mu Ren Xiang)	Ancient China	1976
The Best of Shaolin Kung Fu (Wan Fa Gui Zong Yi Shaolin)	Anti-Qing Rebellion	1976
Shaolin Temple (Shaolin Si)	Anti-Qing Rebellion	1976
Hand of Death (Shaolin Men)	Anti-Qing Rebellion	1976
Return of the 18 Bronzemen (Yongzheng Da Po Shi Ba Tong Ren)	Anti-Qing Rebellion	1976
The Northern Shaolin (Bei Shaolin)	World War II	1976
Shaolin Tiger & Crane Fist (Shaolin Hu He Zhen Tianxia)	Ancient China	1976
The Shaolin Avengers (Fang Shiyu Yu Hu Huiqian)	Anti-Qing Rebellion	1976
Shao Lin Kung-Fu Mystagogue (Damo Mizong Xue Li Piao)	Anti-Qing Rebellion	1976
Shaolin Dragon Staff (Shaolin Pan Long Gun)		1976
The Blazing Temple (Huo Shao Shaolin Si)	Anti-Qing Rebellion	1976

> He devotes all his blood and energy,
> And risks his life for the great cause.
> He is truly a patriotic hero.[98]

Together with the wuxia novels published in Hong Kong between the 1950s and 1970s, the above-mentioned movies contributed to the construction of a Shaolin kung fu culture. Empowered by wushu, Shaolin was endowed with political and cultural significance and evolved as a unique representation of Chinese nationalism and national identity.[99] These movies were also released just when the world was starting to get a grasp on Chinese martial arts. They unleashed the Shaolin fever that later stormed China and the world, and made Shaolin kung fu one of the best-known Chinese martial arts styles among both domestic and foreign audiences.

Figure 7.1 A Still from the Movie *Five Shaolin Masters* (1974).
Source: Visual China Group.

Conclusion

Following the establishment of the PRC in 1949, the Communist government established tight control over religious institutions to serve the interests of the state.[100] When socialist land reform was launched in 1950, all the land owned by Shaolin was confiscated and distributed to local farmers. Fewer than 20 monks stayed.

CCP religious policy was not all hostile. Decrees were issued to protect famous Buddhist monasteries regarded as major cultural and historical sites. As one of China's most famous Buddhist monasteries, Shaolin received favourable treatment from the government. Between 1951 and 1963, the state provided funding on several occasions to repair the monastery's main buildings, pagodas and wall murals. The monastery was also visited by influential politicians, intellectuals and artists.

However, from the late 1950s on, Beijing's policy on religion became more radical. Religion came to be regarded as a part of feudal culture that should be abolished. During the Cultural Revolution, the state encouraged the people to declare war against feudalism by abandoning

traditional ideas and practices. Religious institutions became prime targets for the rebels and Red Guards. Shaolin monks were verbally and physically abused by various groups of rebels and forced to stop performing rituals and wearing Buddhist robes. Despite this, the monks tried their best to protect the monastery and its religious artefacts and relics. Thanks to their efforts and a protection order issued by the central government, and also due to its remote location, Shaolin was one of the few religious institutions lucky enough to survive the violent political campaigns.

Also in the 1950s, based on the CCP's sports policy, which aimed to improve health, reinforce national defence and assist state-building, a nationwide campaign was launched by the government to promote Chinese martial arts, now called wushu. Shaolin kung fu developed accordingly. As one of the popular schools of wushu, Shaolin kung fu was included in the wushu competitions organised by the Sports Ministry and the CWA. The development of wushu was visible in the changes that took place in Shaolin. Some Shaolin monks, including the chief instructor of the Shaolin warrior monks, joined local schools and art troupes as wushu instructors.

The 1950s, 1960s and 1970s saw the development of Shaolin kung fu culture through wuxia novels and martial arts movies produced in Hong Kong. From the late 1960s on, Hong Kong martial arts movies began to form a new cultural imagination, constituted by and constituting popular nationalism. This cultural imagination focused on reviving China and relied on the image of a muscular and masculine body in the regalia of Chinese martial arts. From 1974, an increasing number of Shaolin kung fu movies were produced in Hong Kong, most based on fictional rebellions by Shaolin monks against the Qing government, expressing a strong sense of Han nationalism. Together with the wuxia novels, these movies contributed to the construction of a Shaolin kung fu culture. Empowered by wushu, Shaolin was infused with political and cultural significance and evolved as a unique representation of Chinese national identity.

Notes

1. Japanese monk Kogen Shogen (1295–1364). See Chapter 3.
2. Shaolin abbot Shi Yirang (1284–1340). See Chapter 3.
3. The Tang monk refers to Shi Xuanzang (660–664). See Chapter 2.
4. Zhengzhou shi difang shi zhi bianzhuan weiyuanhui, ed., Zhengzhou shi zhi (Records of Zhengzhou city), vol. 8 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chuban she, 2000), 438. English translation by author. Courtesy of the Zhengzhou Local History Office.
5. Guo Moruo was a famous Chinese writer, poet and historian. He served as the first President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) and Chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles (CFLAC) between 1949 and 1978.
6. Yue Pan, ed., *Zhongguo guoyou jingji zonglun* (China's state-owned economy) (Beijing: Jingji kexue chuban she, 1997), 59–60.

7. Dezhi Duan, *Xin Zhongguo zongjiao gongzuo shi* (A history of religious work in New China) (Beijing: Renmin chuban she, 2013), 10.
8. Fenggang Yang, *Religion in China Survival and Revival under Communist Rule* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 68.
9. 'Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China', 28 June 1950.
10. Dengfeng County Records Office, ed., *Xin bian Shaolin si zhi* (New records of Shaolin Monastery) (Beijing: China Tourism Press, 1988), 16.
11. Qian De, 'Suxi: Shaolin zhizun 7' (Suxi: The hero of Shaolin 7), *Jingwu*, no. 8 (2005): 46.
12. De, 'Suxi: Shaolin zhizun 7', 48.
13. Binhao Zhen, *Xingzheng gushi* (The story of Xingzheng) (Zhengzhou: Shaolin shu ju, 2006), 78.
14. De, 'Suxi: Shaolin zhizun 7', 48.
15. De, 'Suxi: Shaolin zhizun 7', 48. English translation by author. Courtesy of Contemporary Sports Technology Press.
16. The Agricultural Collectivisation Movement can be divided into three stages. The First Stage (1949–1953): Agricultural Mutual Aid Groups (Laodong Huzhu Zu) were set up at the village level. Farmers were required to share labour, tools and resources. Individual households remained the basic unit of land ownership and production. By the end of 1952, more than 8.3 million Mutual Aid Groups had been set up across China, covering 40 percent of the rural population. The Second Stage (1954–1955): Mutual Aid Groups were integrated into Junior Level Agricultural Cooperatives. Individual households joined the cooperative as stakeholders. The cooperative was responsible for the management of land, resource assignment and the allocation of jobs. Household income was calculated based on labour output and the size of land contributed to the cooperative. By June 1955, 650,000 agricultural cooperatives had been set up around the country. The Third Stage (1955–1956): Senior-Level Agricultural Cooperatives. Most of the land and various means of production were owned collectively by the cooperative. Products and income from the land were distributed to cooperative members based on their labour output. By the end of 1956, the number of senior-level agricultural cooperatives had reached 540,000. More than 85 percent of the rural population became cooperative members. See: Liuqin Chen and Zhenhua Hu, 'Zhongguo nongcun hezuo zuzhi de lishi bianqian' (The transformation of agricultural cooperatives in China), *Problems of Agricultural Economy*, no. 6 (2010): 53–59.
17. De, 'Suxi: Shaolin zhizun 7', 48.
18. Yucheng Xu, ed., *Zongjiao zhengce falu zhishi wenda* (Q&A on religious policies and decrees) (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1997), 131.
19. Bureau of Religious Affairs of the State Council, ed., *Zongjiao gongzuo wenjian zhaibian* (Collection of policy documents for religion work) (Beijing: Bureau of Religious Affairs of the State Council, 1990), 52.
20. Lu Zhishen is a fictional Buddhist monk in the Chinese novel *Water Margin*. He is portrayed as a symbol of strength, justice and rebellion.
21. Also known as Taoguang Yuanying (韬光圆瑛).
22. Duan, *Xin Zhongguo zongjiao gongzuo shi*, 68.
23. 'The 1954 Constitution of the People's Republic of China', 20 September 1954.
24. Dengfeng County United Front Work Department, 'Guanyu Shaolin si bohuai daota de qingkuang baogao' (Report on the damaged buildings and relics of Shaolin Monastery), 8 March 1953.
25. Dengfeng County Records Office, ed., *Xin bian Shaolin si zhi*, 161.
26. Dengfeng County People's Committee, 'Guanyu zai xingxiu shuili gongcheng zhong rengzhen baohu wenwu guji de tongzhi' (Notice on protecting historical sites and cultural relics when conducting water conservation projects),

March 1956; Department of Culture of Henan Province, 'Guanyu zai nongtian shuili gongcheng zhong baohu wenwu de buchong tongzhi' (Supplementary notice on protecting historical sites and cultural relics when conducting water conservation projects), March 1856.

27. Dengfeng County People's Committee, 'Guanyu qingshi zhongdian xiubu shaolin si de qingshi' (Application regarding funding to repair Shaolin Monastery), 26 February 1957.
28. Dengfeng County Records Office, ed., *Xin bian Shaolin si zhi*, 161.
29. Dengfeng County Records Office, ed., *Xin bian Shaolin si zhi*, 161.
30. The Buddhist Academy of China was established in Fayuan Monastery, Beijing, in 1956. It was China's first higher education institution for Buddhists.
31. Qian De, 'Suxi: Shaolin zhizun 9' (Suxi: The hero of Shaolin 9), *Jingwu*, no. 10 (2005): 54.
32. Dengfeng County People's Commission, 'Guanyu liji dongyuan zhengxiu Shaolin gonglu de jinji tongzhi' (Urgent notice regarding repairing the public road to Shaolin), 7 January 1964.
33. Dengfeng County Records Office, *Xin bian Shaolin si zhi*, 168–169.
34. Yangzheng Li, *Dangdai Zhongguo Daojiao* (Daoism in contemporary China) (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1993), 12.
35. Zhonggong Yinchuan shi dangshi yanjiushi, ed., *Zhonggong Yinchuan dangshi* (History of the CCP in Yinchuan) (Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin chuban she, 2005), 47.
36. Witold Rodziński, *The Walled Kingdom* (London: Fontana Press, 1991), 406.
37. Xingguo Wang, *Mao Zedong yu Fojiao* (Mao Zedong and Buddhism) (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chuban she, 1996), 179; Yu Xue, *Zhongguo Fojiao de shehui zhuyi gaizao* (Socialist reforms in Chinese Buddhism) (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2015), 267; Yang, *Religion in China*, 70.
38. Duan, *Xin Zhongguo zongjiao gongzuo shi*, 103–105.
39. Yang, *Religion in China*, 72.
40. Duan, *Xin Zhongguo zongjiao gongzuo shi*, 191.
41. See: Shikai Jin, *Lishi de daijia: Wenge siwang dangan* (The cost of history: Death files of the Cultural Revolution) (Beijing: China Dadi Publishing House, 1993).
42. Duan, *Xin Zhongguo zongjiao gongzuo shi*, 153.
43. Andre Laliberte, 'Contemporary Issues in State-Religion Relations', in *Chinese Religious Life*, ed. David A. Palmer, Glenn Shive and Philip L. Wickeri, 192–208 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 197.
44. Xiaofeng Yue, 'Dangdai Shaolin shi jiang zhi liu' (Ten lectures on Shaolin in modern China, 6), *Shaolin yu Taiji*, no. 12 (2011): 28.
45. Zhen, *Xingzheng gushi*, 93; Zhen, *Shaolin zhongxing zhi zu*, 205–206.
46. Binghao Zhen, *Shaolin zhongxing zhi zu* (The masters who revived Shaolin) (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chuban she, 1997), 206–208.
47. Zhen, *Shaolin zhongxing zhi zu*, 207–208.
48. Yingwang Cao, *Zhou Enlai de zhihui* (Zhou Enlai's wisdom) (Beijing: CCP Central Party School Press, 1994), 304.
49. Dengfeng County Records Office, *Xin bian Shaolin si zhi*, 168.
50. Dengfeng County Revolutionary Committee, 'Guanyu jiaqiang wenwu baohu gongzuo de yijian' (Suggestions on the Reinforcement of the Protection for Cultural Relics), 4 December 1969.
51. Qian Zhen and Hua Zhang, *Mao Zedong shidai de Zhongguo* (China in the Mao era), vol. 3. Beijing: Dangshi chuban she, 2003, 252.
52. Dongxing Wang, *Mao Zedong yu Lin Biao fan geming jituan de douzheng* (Mao Zedong and the counter-revolutionary group led by Lin Biao) (Beijing: Dangdai zhongguo chuban she, 1993, 213.

53. Rodziński, *The Walled Kingdom*, 419.
54. During the Cultural Revolution, local governments were replaced by Revolutionary Committees. These committees were formed by three mass organisations: the people, the People's Liberation Army and the CCP.
55. Dengfeng County Revolutionary Committee, 'Guanyu pibo Shaolin si Qianfo dian deng wenwu jianzhu weixiu jingfei de qingshi' (Application regarding funding to repair the Thousand Buddhas Hall and other cultural relics), 29 May 1971.
56. Dengfeng County Revolutionary Committee, 'Guanyu pibo weixiu Shaolin si Shanmen, Baiyi dian suoxu muliao he Qianfo dian zhuibu muliao de qingshi' (Application regarding timber to repair Shaolin's main gate, the Guanyin Hall and the Thousand Buddhas Hall), 18 February 1974.
57. Dengfeng County Revolutionary Committee, 'Guanyu pibo weixiu Shaolin si'.
58. Dengfeng County Revolutionary Committee, 'Guanyu chengqing bokuan qiangxiu Shaolin si ji qi bihua de baogao' (Report on requesting funding to repair Shaolin Monastery and its murals), 3 July 1975.
59. The 11 documents are: 'Guanyu pibo wenwu weixiu fei de qingshi' (Application regarding funding to repair cultural relics), 1 April 1971; 'Guanyu pibo Shaolin si Qianfo dian deng wenwu jianzhu weixiu jingfei de qingshi' (Application regarding funding for repairing the Thousand Buddhas Hall and other cultural relics), 29 May 1971; 'Guanyu pibo chuzu an xiufu jingfei de qingshi' (Application regarding funding to repair the First Patriarch Temple), 11 March 1972; 'Guanyu Shaolin si, Zhongyue miao deng luyou dian jixu boli de qingshi' (Application regarding Shaolin Monastery and Zhongyue Temple's urgent request for glass), 1972; 'Guanyu xiuzheng Shaolin si jixu muliao, gangcai de qingshi' (Application regarding Shaolin Monastery's urgent request for timber and steel), 1972; 'Guanyu qiangxiu Chuzu an dadian xu liao de qingshi' (Application regarding building material to repair the main hall of the First Patriarch Temple), 5 June 1972; 'Guanyu qiangxiu Chuzu an deng wenwu jianzhu jixu jingfei he wuliao de qingshi' (Application regarding funding and building material to repair the First Patriarch Temple and other cultural relics), 21 June 1972; 'Guanyu pibo Shaolinsi Qianfo dian jixu cailiao de qingshi' (Application regarding building materials to repair the Thousand Buddhas Hall), 30 November 1972; 'Guanyu pibo weixiu Shaolin si Shanmen, Baiyi dian suoxu muliao he Qianfo dian zhuibu muliao de qingshi' (Application regarding timber to repair Shaolin's main gate, the Guanyin Hall and the Thousand Buddhas Hall), 18 February 1974; 'Guanyu chengqing bokuan qiangxiu Shaolin si Qianfo dian de baogao' (Report on the request for funding to repair Shaolin's Thousand Buddhas Hall), 25 April 1975; 'Guanyu chengqing bokuan qiangxiu Shaolin si ji qi bihua de baogao' (Report on the request for funding to repair Shaolin's murals), 3 July 1975.
60. Dengfeng County Records Office, ed., *Xin bian Shaolin si zhi*, 186–191.
61. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 560.
62. The ACSF believed that the term guoshu, which was widely used in the Republic of China era, was too broad and could include other Chinese traditions such as acupuncture, painting, music and embroidery. See: Baozhong Cai, 'Dui jindai Zhongguo wushu shi yanjiu zhong jige wenti de chongxin renshi' (Rediscovering some issues in the research of modern Chinese wushu history), *Journal of Capital University of Physical Education and Sports* 25, no. 6 (2013): 494.
63. Sports Ministry, 'Constitution of the Sports Ministry', in *Yearbook of Chinese Sport (1949–1962)*, ed. Editorial Team of the Yearbook of Chinese Sport (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chuban she, 1964), 159.

64. Wushu Research Academy of the Sports Ministry, ed., *Zhongguo wushu shi* (The history of Chinese wushu) (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chuban she, 1997), 364.
65. Wushu Research Academy of the Sports Ministry, *Zhongguo wushu shi*, 366.
66. Shiming Bi, *Tiyu zhi* (Records of sport and physical education) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chuban she, 1998), 113.
67. Fu, *Zhongguo tiyu tongshi*, 74; Junping Wang, 'Jiankang Zhongguo beijing xia wushu xiuxian hua tansuo' (Healthy China: The development of wushu as a leisure activity), *Wushu yanjiu* 2, no. 2 (2017): 11.
68. Weiliang Zhou, ed., *Zhongguo wushu shi* (The history of Chinese martial arts) (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chuban she, 2003), 129.
69. Long Li, *Lishixue shiye xia de Zhongguo wushu jiaoyu* (Wushu education in China) (Beijing: Beijing tiyu daxue chuban she, 2010), 25.
70. Hongjun Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si* (Shaolin Monastery of Mount Song) (Zhengzhou: Henan Renmin chuban she, 2001), 550.
71. Xiaofeng Yue, 'Dangdai Shaolin shi Jiang zhi wu' (Ten lectures on Shaolin in modern China, 5), *Shaolin yu Taiji*, no. 11 (2011): 35.
72. Yue, 'Dangdai Shaolin shi jiang zhi wu', 35.
73. Lu, *Songshan Shaolin si*, 551.
74. Matsuda, 'A History of Shaolin Kung Fu II', 52.
75. Ryuchi Matsuda, 'A History of Shaolin Kung Fu II' (Shaolin quan shi 2), *Journal of Anhui Sports Science*, no. 3 (1983): 50–51.
76. Juan Zhang, 'Shinian wenge qijian Beijing wushu de yanbian' (The development of wushu in Beijing during the Cultural Revolution), Master's thesis, Beijing Sport University, 2012, 13.
77. Emillo Alpanseque, 'Unlocking Lianhuanquan', *Kungfu Tai Chi*, May/June (2011): 44.
78. Lu Zhouxiang, *Politics and Identity in Chinese Martial Arts* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 152.
79. Yinjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), 92.
80. Liang Yusheng (the pen name of Chen Wentong) was born in Mengshan County, Guangxi Province, in 1924. After graduating from Lingnan University in Guangzhou, he settled down in Hong Kong in 1949 and worked as a newspaper editor. He published his first wuxia novel, *Dragon and Tiger Fight in the Capital* (Longhu Dou Jinghua), in 1952 and earned fame as the pioneer of the new school of wuxia fiction. He wrote 35 wuxia novels in total, most of which, including *The Seven Swords* (Qijian Xia Tianshan, 1956–57), *Romance of the White-Haired Maiden* (Baifa Mo Nu Zhuan, 1957–58) and *Heroic Legend* (Pingzong Xiaying Lu, 1959–60), were made into wuxia films and TV dramas.
81. Jin Yong (the pen name of Cha Leung-yung) was born in Haining, Zhejiang Province, in 1924. He graduated from Soochow University in 1948 and joined *Dagong Daily* (Ta Kung Pao), a leading left-wing newspaper in Hong Kong, as an editor in 1950. He rose to fame in 1955 when his first wuxia novel, *Legend of the Book and Sword* (Shu Jian En Chou Lu), was published in the *New Evening Post* (San Man Pao). Jin Yong wrote 15 wuxia novels before retiring. His most popular titles are *The Legend of the Condor Heroes* (She Diao Yingxiong Zhuan, 1957–1959), *The Return of the Condor Heroes* (Shen Diao Xia Lu, 1959–1961), *The Heaven Sword and Dragon Sabre* (Yi Tian Tu Long Ji, 1961–1963), *Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils* (Tian Long Ba Bu, 1963–1966) and *The Smiling, Proud Wanderer* (Xiao Ao Jiang Hu, 1967–1969). Due to the overwhelming popularity of his books, Jin Yong is regarded as one of the most important Chinese writers of the twentieth century.

82. Gu Long (the pen name of Xiong Yaohua) was born in Hong Kong in 1938 and moved to Taiwan with his parents in 1952. He started writing wuxia novels in 1960. His most influential works are *Two Peerless Heroes* (Juedai Shuang Jiao, 1966), the Chu Liuxiang series (1967–1979), the Little Li Flying Dagger (Xiaoli Feidao) series (1972–1981) and the Lu Xiaofeng series (1973–1981).
83. Zhesheng Tang, 'Bianyuan yao yan: Zhongguo tongsu xiaoshuo 60 nian' (The shining edge: Chinese novels in the past 60 years), *Wenyi zheng ming*, no. 9 (2011): 68–69; Yibing Cao, 'Lun Zhongguo wuxia xiaoshuo cong gu zhi jin de yanbian' (The historical development of Chinese wuxia novels), *Research on Ming and Qing Dynasties Novels* 67, no. 1 (2003): 89; Yong Fei and Xiaoyi Zhong, *Jin Yong Chuanqi* (The Legend of Jin Yong) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chuban she, 1996), 32; Bin Li, *Liang Yusheng zhuan* (Biography of Liang Yusheng) (Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chuban she, 2001), 217.
84. Yusheng Liang, *Longhu dou jinghua* (Dragon and tiger fight in the capital) (Guangzhou: Sun Yat-sen University Press, 2012), 56.
85. Yong Jin, *Xiao ao jianghu* (The smiling, proud wanderer) (Guangzhou: Guangzhou Publishing House, 2013), 123.
86. Long Gu, *Chu Liuxiang: Da shamo* (The vast desert) (Taipei: Huaxin chuban she, 2015), 210.
87. Major titles included: *Romance of the White-Haired Maiden* (Baifa Monu Zhuan, 1957); *The Legend of the Condor Heroes 1&2* (She Diao Yingxiong Zhuan, 1958–1959); *Sword of Blood and Valour 1&2* (Bi Xue Jian, 1958–1959); *The Return of the Condor Heroes 1–4* (Shen Diao Xia Lu, 1960–1961); *Heroine of Flower* (Sanhua Nuxia, 1961); *The Heaven Sword and Dragon Sabre 1–4* (Yi Tian Tu Long Ji 1963–1965); *The Flying Fox in the Snowy Mountains* (Xueshan Fei Hu, 1964); *The Patriotic Knight* (Xiagu Danxin, 1971).
88. Wong Fei-hung movies produced in Hong Kong between 1950 and 1976: *The Story of Wong Fei-hung 3–5* (Huang Feihong zhuan 3–5, 1950–1951); *How Wong Fei-hung Defeated Three Bullies with a Rod* (Huang Feihong yi gun fu san ba, 1953); *How Wong Fei-hung Redeemed Haichuang Temple* (Huang Feihong yi jiu Haitong si, 1953); *Wong Fei-hung Tries His Shadowless Kick* (Huang Feihong chu shi wuying jiao, 1954); *The Story of Wong Fei-hung and Lam Sai-wing* (Huang Feihong yu Lin Shirong, 1954); *The True Story of Wong Fei-hung* (Huang Feihong zheng zhuan, 1955); *Wong Fei-hung's Victory at Fourth Gate* (Huang Feihong wei zhen si pai lou, 1955); *The Story of Wong Fei-hung (2nd Sequel)* (Xu Huang Feihong zhuan, 1955); *How Wong Fei-hung Vanquished the Bully at a Long Dyke* (Huang Feihong chang di jian ba, 1955); *Wong Fei-hung's Rival for the Fireworks* (Huang Feihong hua di qiang pao, 1955); *How Wong Fei-hung Thrice Tricked the Lady Security Escort* (Huang Feihong san xi nu biaoshi, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung at a Boxing Match* (Huang Feihong leitai bi wu, 1956); *How Wong Fei-hung Saved the Lovelorn Monk from the Ancient Monastery* (Huang Feihong gu si jiu qing seng, 1956); *How Wong Fei-hung Thrice Captured So Shu-Lim in the Water* (Huang Feihong shui di san qin Su Shu Lian, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung and the Courtesan's Boat Argument* (Huang Feihong hua ting fengyun, 1956); *How Wong Fei-hung Vanquished the Bully at the Red Opera Float* (Huang Feihong hong chuan jian ba, 1956); *How Wong Fei-hung Vanquished the Twelve Lions* (Huang Feihong nu tun shi er shi, 1956); *How Wong Fei-hung Pitted Seven Lions against the Gold Dragon* (Huang Feihong qi shi hui jinlong, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung's Pilgrimage to the Goddess of the Sea Temple* (Huang Feihong

Tianhou miao jin xiang, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung's Story: Iron Cock against Centipede* (Huang Feihong tie ji dou wugong, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung's Fight in Foshan* (Huang Feihong da nao Foshan, 1956); *How Wong Fei-hung Vanquished the Ferocious Dog* (Huang Feihong sha mian fu shen quan, 1956); *How Wong Fei-hung Saved the Dragon's Mother* (Huang Feihong yi jiu Longmu miao, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung's Battle at Shuangmendi* (Huang Feihong da zhan shuang men di, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung Rescues the Fishmonger* (Huang Feihong yi jiu mai yu can, 1956); *How Wong Fei-hung Subdued the Two Tigers* (Huang Feihong fu er hu, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung Fights Five Dragons Single-Handedly* (Huang Feihong du bi dou wu long, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung Goes to a Birthday Party at Guanshan* (Huang Feihong guan shan da he shou, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung Wins the Dragon Boat Race* (Huang Feihong longzhou tuo jin, 1956); *How Wong Fei-hung Set Fire to Dashatou* (Huang Feihong huo shao da sha tou, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung's Victory at Xiao Beijiang* (Huang Feihong heng sao xiao bei Jiang, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung's Seven Battles with Fiery Unicorn* (Huang Feihong qi dou huo qilin, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung and the Lantern Festival Disturbance* (Huang Feihong da nao hua deng, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung's Battle at Mount Goddess of Mercy* (Huang Feihong Guanyin shan xue hen, 1956); *How Wong Fei-hung Pitted a Lion against the Unicorn* (Huang Feihong xing shi hui qilin, 1956); *Wong Fei-hung's Rival for a Pearl* (Huang Feihong er long zheng zhu, 1957); *How Wong Fei-hung Spied on Black Dragon Hill at Night* (Huang Feihong ye tan Heilong shan, 1957); *How Wong Fei-hung Smashed the Flying Dagger Gang* (Huang Feihong da po feidao dang, 1957); *Wong Fei-hung's Fight at Henan* (Huang Feihong Henan yu xue zhan, 1957); *Wong Fei-hung, King of Lion Dance* (Huang Feihong shi wang zheng ba, 1957); *How Wong Fei-hung Fought a Bloody Battle in the Spinster's Home* (Huang Feihong xue jian gupo wu, 1957); *Wong Fei-hung's Three Battles with the Unruly Girl* (Yanzhi Masan dou Huang Feihong, 1957); *Wong Fei-hung's Battle at Saddle Hill* (Huang Feihong diexue Ma'an shan, 1957); *How Wong Fei-hung and Wife Eradicated the Three Rascals* (Huang Feihong fuqi chu san hai, 1958); *How Wong Fei-hung Subdued the Invincible Armour* (Huang Feihong da po jinzhong zhao, 1958); *Battle with the Five Tigers in the Boxing Ring* (Huang Feihong leitai dou wu hu, 1958); *How Wong Fei-hung Pitted an Iron Cock against the Eagle* (Huang Feihong tie ji dou shen ying, 1958); *Wong Fei-hung's Story: Five Poisonous Devils against Twin Dragons* (Huang Feihong wu du dou shuang long, 1958); *Wong Fei-hung Seizes the Bride at Xiguan* (Huang Feihong xi guan qiang xinniang, 1958); *Wong Fei-hung's Victory at Ma Village* (Huang Feihong da po Majia zhuang, 1958); *Wong Fei-hung Saves the Kidnapped Leung Foon* (Huang Feihong hu xue jiu Liang Kuan, 1958); *Wong Fei-hung's Fierce Battle* (Huang Feihong long zheng hu dou, 1958); *How Wong Fei-hung Stormed Phoenix Hill* (Huang Feihong da nao Fenghuang gang, 1958); *Wong Fei-hung on Rainbow Bridge* (Huang Feihong yi guan Caihong qiao, 1959); *Wong Fei-hung Trapped in Hell* (Huang Feihong bei kun hei diyu, 1959); *How Wong Fei-hung Defeated the Tiger on the Opera Stage* (Huang Feihong xi peng fu hu, 1959); *Wong Fei-hung's Combat in the Boxing Ring* (Huang Feihong leitai zhengba zhan, 1960); *Wong Fei-hung's Battle with the Gorilla* (Xingxing wang da zhan Huang Feihong, 1960); *How Wong Fei-hung Smashed the Five Tigers* (Huang Feihong da po wu hu zhen, 1961); *Wong Fei-hung Meeting the Heroes with the Tiger Paw* (Huang Feihong hu zhua hui qun ying, 1967); *Wong Fei-hung: The Eight Bandits* (Huang Feihong zui da ba jinggang, 1968); *Wong Fei-hung: The Incredible Success in Canton* (Huang Feihong wei

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89. Andrew Nathan and Robert S. Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1998), 34.
90. The demonstrations started in May 1967, when a labour dispute erupted in an artificial flower factory in Kowloon. Workers clashed with the police and the incident ended up becoming a riot. The next day, hundreds of workers took to the streets to protest. In the subsequent weeks, people from pro-Beijing leftist organisations joined forces with the workers and organised large demonstrations, leading to more clashes with the police. The labour dispute was supplanted by strikes and marches and turned into a territory-wide anti-colonial and anti-imperialism campaign. The Hong Kong government imposed emergency regulations to quell the unrest, and hundreds of activists were arrested. In response, the protesters launched random bomb attacks, causing more violence and death. The unrest did not cease until the end of 1967. See: Ray Yep, 'Cultural Revolution in Hong Kong: Emergency Powers, Administration of Justice and the Turbulent Year of 1967', *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (2012): 1007–1032; Joseph Y. S. Cheng, 'Hong Kong's

Watershed—The 1967 Riots', *Journal of Comparative Asian Development* 9, no. 1 (2010): 175–177.

91. Siu Leung Li, 'Kung Fu: Negotiating Nationalism and Modernity', *Cultural Studies* 15, no. 3/4 (2001): 518.
92. Li, 'Kung Fu: Negotiating Nationalism and Modernity', 518.
93. David Dresser, 'Fists of Legend: Constructing Chinese Identity in the Hong Kong Cinema', in *Chinese-Language Film: Historiography, Poetics, Politics*, ed. Sheldon Lu and Emile Yueh Yeh (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 281–282.
94. *Fist of Fury*, directed by Wei Lo (Hong Kong: Orange Sky Golden Harvest, 1972).
95. Yuan Shu, 'Reading the Kung Fu Film in an American Context: From Bruce Lee to Jackie Chan', *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 31, no. 2 (2003): 53.
96. Li, 'Kung Fu: Negotiating Nationalism and Modernity', 519.
97. *Five Shaolin Masters* (Shaolin wu zu), directed by Che Zhang (Hong Kong: Shaw Brothers Studio, 1974).
98. *Bei Shaolin* (Tiger of Northland), directed by Changgui Peng (Hong Kong: Orange Sky Golden Harvest, 1976). English translation by author.
99. Dallas Hudgens, 'The Way of the Shaolin', *The Washington Post*, www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/2000/11/17/the-way-of-the-shaolin/0e02efd7-e950-42ff-86c7-222398da9654/ (accessed 3 October 2016).
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8 The Revival of Shaolin in the Era of Reform and Opening Up

Shaolin should have more forests,
The pine forest and Chan forest.
I shall come back in ten years' time,
To see the flourishing green.[1]
Zhao Puchu (1907–2000),[2] 1992

After the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government launched a series of reforms to introduce free market principles to China's socialist planned economy. 'Economy construction-oriented' domestic and foreign policies were adopted to achieve the goal of modernisation. This resulted in rapid economic growth, which lifted millions of people out of poverty.[3] The reforms also opened an era of liberation—the liberation of people's lives and minds.[4] Alongside academia's criticism of the Cultural Revolution and of extreme left-wing ideology, interest in liberalism and individualism began to rise.[5] Society gradually moved away from the old socialist, collectivistic and egalitarian way of thinking and embraced private ownership, consumerism and globalism.

In the realm of religion, Beijing recognised its importance in Chinese society and sought more openly to ensure the prosperity of mainstream religions, to serve the purposes of social stability and inter-ethnic harmony.[6] In October 1978, in response to a report submitted by the United Front Work Department,[7] the central government instructed:

> The government must fully and correctly comprehend and implement the policies outlined in the Constitution, which offer protection for religious freedom. Respect religious believers' normal religious life and open a small number of monasteries and churches . . . provide proper sites for religious activities. [These] policies must be implemented so people can openly practise religion . . . religious activities are protected by the government . . . [the government] should continue to implement the policy of 'unite, educate and reform.' Ally with religious figures and encourage them to contribute to the general task [of modernisation] in this new era.[8]

In April 1979, the Administration for Religious Affairs (ARA), which had closed down in 1975, resumed operating.[9] In July 1980, the State Council instructed local governments to return property confiscated from religious institutions during the Cultural Revolution.[10] From the late 1970s, a limited number of monasteries, temples, churches and mosques resumed religious services. Religious educational institutions began to recruit students. The Buddhist Academy of China (in Fayuan Monastery, Beijing), Nanjing Union Theological Seminary and the China Institute of Islamic Theology reopened in 1980, 1981 and 1982 respectively.[11] Religious studies journals, including *The Voice of Dharma* (Fayin), *China Muslim* (Zhongguo Musilin), *China Daoism* (Zhongguo Dao Jiao) and *Heavenly Wind* (Tianfeng), resumed publication.[12]

In March 1982, the central government issued a policy document entitled 'The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Affairs during the Socialist Period of Our Country.' This document reaffirms the freedom of religious belief and 'grants legal existence to Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Protestantism and Catholicism under the government-sanctioned "patriotic" associations but not any group outside of the five religious associations or to any other religions in the nation or the world at large.'[13] These principles were incorporated into the updated PRC Constitution adopted on 4 December 1982:

> Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief. No state organ, public organisation or individual may compel citizens to believe in, or not to believe in, any religion; nor may they discriminate against citizens who believe in, or do not believe in, any religion. The state protects normal religious activities. No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state. Religious bodies and religious affairs should not be subject to any foreign domination.[14]

The government began to provide financial and policy support to renovate famous monasteries and temples, churches, seminaries and mosques. By the 1980s, mainstream religions had revived and were thriving. Buddhism and Daoism grew in both popularity and influence, and Christianity and Islam also started to enjoy rapid growth.[15] In line with the new economic policies, which focused on commercialisation and marketisation, renowned Buddhist and Daoist monasteries, such as those at Mount Emei, Mount Jiuhua, Mount Wutai, Mount Wudang and Mount Putuo, were turned into tourist attractions to boost local economies and serve China's economic development goals.[16]

As one of the most important Buddhist monasteries in north-central China, Shaolin received special attention from the government. In May 1977, the Dengfeng County Culture and Education Department submitted

an application to the Henan Province Department of Culture, requesting funding of RMB 120,000 to repair the wall murals in the Thousand Buddhas Hall.[17] In February 1979, the Dengfeng County Culture and Education Department again requested that the Henan Province Department of Culture provide funding to repair the Shaolin pagodas. In May 1978, the Dengfeng County government applied to the provincial government for funding of RMB 858,000 to repair Shaolin's main buildings, the pagoda forest and the First Patriarch Temple.[18]

In July 1978, the Henan provincial government decided to open Shaolin and other historical sites in Dengfeng to foreign tourists,[19] receiving 254 foreign visitors that year. On 14 April 1979, headed by Doshin So (1911–1980), founder of the Shorinji Kempo (see Chapter 6), a Japanese delegation visited Shaolin, and Shaolin monks were finally permitted by the authorities to wear monastic robes to greet important guests.[20] A year later, Doshin visited Shaolin again and donated a statue of Bodhidharma and 5 million Japanese yen to the monastery. A stele monument was erected to commemorate his visit. The inscription reads:

> The world-famous Shaolin kung fu originated in central China. The Japanese monk Doshin So travelled to the Chan Monastery at Mount Song and learned Shaolin kung fu. After returning to Japan, he founded the Shorinji Kempo . . . helping the development of traditional Chinese culture in Japan. The Master has promoted Shaolin kung fu in Japan and contributed to the development of Sino-Japanese friendship.[21]

In June 1979, instructed by the Henan provincial government and led by the Foreign Affairs Office, the Henan Province Department of Culture and Dengfeng County government, major renovations were carried out in Shaolin. The project was completed in June 1989, costing approximately RMB 60 million (RMB 50.3 million from the state; RMB 680,000 from donations; 5 million Japanese yen donated by the Shorinji Kempo).[22]

By the end of the 1980s, nearly all the existing buildings, temples and pagodas had been renovated. Most of the buildings and Buddha statues that were destroyed in 1928 (see Chapter 6) have been rebuilt.[23] These include the Kshitigarbha Hall (1979), the East Stone Arch (1980), the Hall of Heavenly Kings (1981), the Abbot's Room (1982), the Abbot's Retreat (1982), the East and West Apartments (1982), the Kinnara Hall (1982), the Kuoran Hall (1982), the Snow Pavilion (1980–1982), the Manjusri Hall (1983), the Sixth Patriarch Hall (1983–1984), the Eastern Chan Hall (1983–1984), the Chuipu Hall (1985), the Samantabhadra Hall (1985) and the Mahavira Hall (1984–1989).[24]

In 1980, the Dengfeng County government issued a policy document to clarify the borders between Shaolin and local villages. The document stated that Shaolin was owned by the state. The monastery's buildings, its

cultural relics and the forest were to be managed by the Department of Culture and Education. Local villagers were ordered to move out of the properties owned by Shaolin.[25]

In November 1981, a Religious Affairs Bureau was established by the Dengfeng County government to govern Shaolin and other religious institutions in the Mount Song region. In 1983, Shaolin was named a National Key Buddhist Monastery by the State Council.[26] In the same year, Mount Song was named one of the 36 National Parks of China by the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, and Shaolin came to be protected and governed by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage.

Thanks to Abbot Shi Xingzheng, who had spent enormous time and effort lobbying the Dengfeng County government, the Henan Province government, the Buddhist Association of China (BAC), the State Administration of Religious Affairs (SARA) and the CCP United Front Department (UFD) since the late 1970s, and with the support of Zhao Puchu (1907–2000), President of the BAC, and Choekyi Gyaltsen (1938–1989), the Tenth Panchen Lama of Tibetan Buddhism and Vice-Chairman of the National People's Congress (NPC), Shaolin monks finally regained control over the monastery from the government in April 1984.[27] One year later, the Shaolin Buddhist Administration Committee was established to manage the daily operation of the monastery. Senior monks Shi Dechan (1907–1993) and Shi Xingzheng (1914–1987) were made Director and Vice-Director of the Committee.

In October 1986, Xingzheng was officially made abbot of Shaolin, making him the first Shaolin abbot recognised by the ruling regime since Shi Haikuan (1596–1682), who was appointed by both the Ming and Qing governments (see Chapters 4 and 5). He was therefore remembered as the twenty-ninth generation of abbots of Shaolin.[28] After Xingzheng passed away in 1987, his dharma heir Shi Yongxin, who had joined the monastery in 1981, became the new leader of Shaolin.

The revival of Shaolin was stimulated by martial arts movies, notably *The Shaolin Temple* (Shaolin Si), which came out in mainland China in 1982. Unlike previous Shaolin kung fu movies, which were produced in Hong Kong, *The Shaolin Temple* was filmed in the real Shaolin Monastery at Mount Song. The initiative was proposed by Liao Chengzhi, Vice-Chairman of the NPC and Director of the Bureau of Overseas Chinese Affairs of the State Council. The film was supported and sponsored by the Chinese government and produced by Hong Kong Chung Yuen Motion Picture Co.[29]

Starring Li Lianjie (Jet Li), who won gold at the National Wushu Championships in 1975, 1977 and 1978 and was the all-round champion of the Fourth National Games in 1979, the film is based on the legendary story of the 13 Shaolin monks who assisted Tang emperor Li Shimin (598–649) in the battle of the Cypress Valley Estate in 621. The

movie had record-breaking success in China and theatres showed it for several months. It generated staggering box office receipts of over RMB 100 million, a new record for the Chinese film industry.[30] *The Shaolin Temple* was later shown in Australia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Poland, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand and the United States, to enormous success.[31]

Soon after *The Shaolin Temple* came out, people around China started travelling to Mount Song to see the real Shaolin Monastery, with many young people hoping to stay there and learn kung fu. Jet Li recalled:

> When they saw *The Shaolin Temple*, many students started marching to the real Shaolin, wanting to learn kung fu! The government was very concerned. They issued broadcasts telling everyone that today the Shaolin Temple isn't like it appears in the movie![32]

Shaolin Monastery received 820,000 visitors in 1982. In 1986, the figure had jumped to 1.96 million. By the mid-1980s, benefiting from the fast-growing tourism industry, Shaolin's annual income from admission fees and other sources had exceeded RMB 100,000.[33] In 2002, a stele was erected in Shaolin by the Dengfeng County government to commemorate *The Shaolin Temple*, and the major changes it brought to Shaolin, with the two theme songs of the movie inscribed on it.

Encouraged by the unexpected success of *The Shaolin Temple*, film-makers in mainland China and Hong Kong pumped out Shaolin kung fu movies and TV dramas 'as fast as they could.'[34] Popular titles included *Kids of Shaolin* (Shaolin Xiaozi, 1984), *The Shaolin Cleric Haideng* (Shaolin Haideng Fashi, 1985), *Martial Arts of Shaolin* (Nanbei Shaolin, 1986), *Once Upon a Time in China I & II* (Naner Dang Zi Qiang 1 & 2, 1991–1992), *The Heroes from Shaolin* (1993), *Burning Paradise* (Huoshao Honglian Si, 1994), *Days in Shaolin* (Xin Shaolin Wu Zu, 1998), *Shaolin Soccer* (Shaolin Zuqiu, 2001), *Southern Shaolin* (Nan Shaolin, 2003) and *Shaolin* (Xin Shaolin Si, 2011). These movies successfully transformed Shaolin kung fu into an art form characterised by a cultural framework. They inherited and preserved the core values of Chinese tradition, boosted the development of a Shaolin kung fu culture and facilitated the revival of Shaolin.

Did *The Shaolin Temple* transform Shaolin into one of the most popular Buddhist monasteries in contemporary China? Or is it Shaolin that made the movie successful? Abbot Yongxin has offered the following comments to close the debate:

> Nevertheless, through the movie, we came to understand the power of Shaolin Temple, discovered its link with the outside world and saw new opportunities for development. The power stems from Shaolin Temple being a sacred site of Buddhism and the ancestral monastery

> of the Chan sect, power that comes from the accumulation of 1,500 years of cultural heritage.[35]

Entering the 1990s, more renovations were carried out to Shaolin Monastery. Funded by the Henan provincial government, the Dharma Hall was rebuilt in 1992 and the original Kitchen House was restored in 1995. With the support of the Henan Province Ancient Architecture Preservation and Research Institute, the Bell Tower and Drum Tower were restored in 1995 and 1998.[36]

In 2003, in order to improve Shaolin's surrounding environment and restore the 'Ancient Monastery Hidden Deep in Mountain' view, the state invested RMB 350 million to relocate the villagers, shops, restaurants, recreational centres, wushu schools and hotels in the Shaolin area.[37] In 2004, a major renovation project which cost up to RMB 50 million was carried out. The Dengfeng government and the Zhengzhou government covered 15 percent of the cost, with the other 85 percent funded from ticket sales and donations.[38]

By the 2000s, Shaolin Monastery had grown into one of China's most popular tourist attractions for both domestic and international visitors.[39] The explosive Shaolin fever gave rise to a tourism industry which boosted the local economy and changed the face of Dengfeng City. Each year, the monastery is visited by more than 1.5 million tourists. In 2007, Shaolin was named an AAAAA-rated tourist attraction by the National Tourism Administration. By 2011, the value of the tourist market created

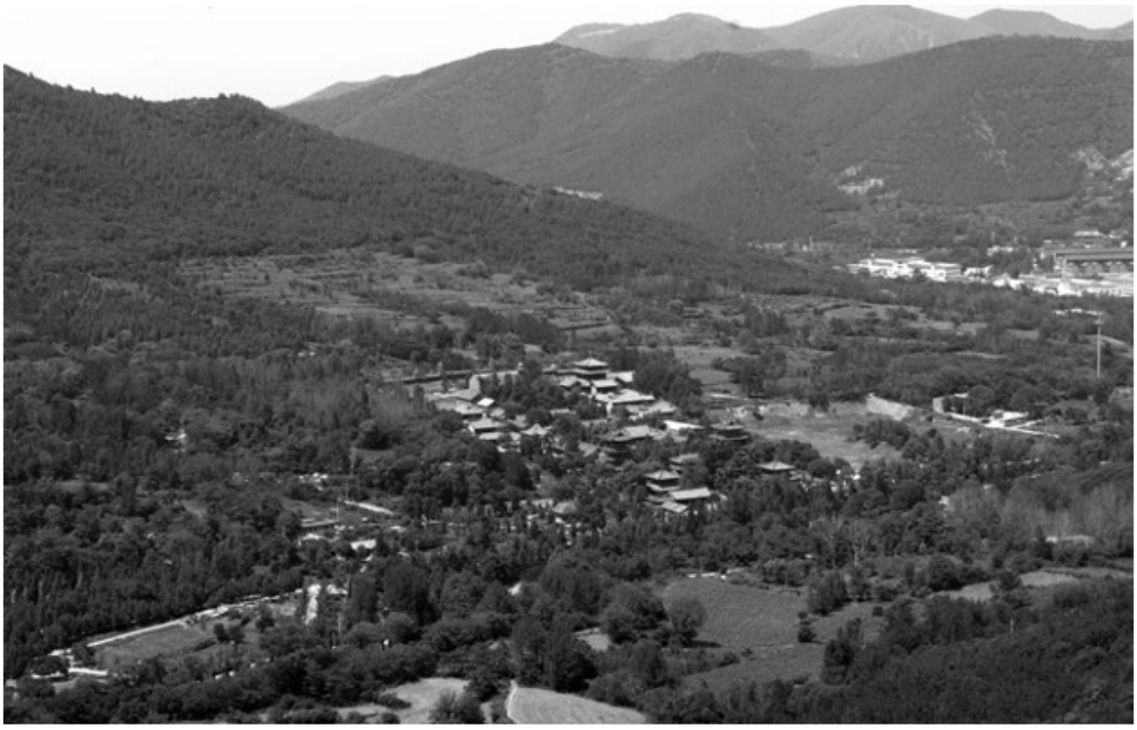

Figure 8.1 Shaolin Monastery, 2016.

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

by Shaolin, including retail, hotel, catering and service businesses, had reached RMB 300 million, accounting for one third of the annual income of Dengfeng City.[40]

Shaolin Kung Fu Fever

The reintroduction of religion occurred together with the revival of Chinese martial arts. From the late 1970s, in the context of reform and opening up, it was widely believed that special attention should be paid to revitalising this national cultural heritage.[41] Therefore, promoting wushu became an important mission of the Sports Ministry and its local commissions. Funded by the government, historians, anthropologists and educationalists began to research and archive materials on various schools of wushu. Wushu societies and teams were revived at all levels, and colleges and universities began to offer wushu courses. Wushu journals and magazines were published in large numbers. Domestic and international competitions were organised to facilitate the development of wushu.[42] By the early 1990s, wushu had experienced pronounced development and become a popular sports and leisure activity in China.[43]

As in other parts of the country, wushu began to revive in Dengfeng from the late 1970s. In 1979, Dengfeng No.15 Middle School established a Shaolin kung fu team. One year later, a Shaolin kung fu institute was launched in the school. Local Shaolin kung fu masters were invited to teach in the institute, and the initiative was supported by the Henan provincial government. The institute was named a Key Institute of Traditional Wushu by the Henan Sports Commission and the Henan Provincial Education Department. In 1981, the Dengfeng Amateur Wushu Sports School, which had reopened in 1970, changed its name to the Dengfeng Amateur Shaolin Kung Fu Sports School.

At the same time, Shaolin kung fu societies and private wushu schools were established by local wushu experts and former Shaolin disciples. Leading schools included Shaolin Epo Martial Arts Academy, founded in 1977; Shaolin Tagou Martial Arts School, established in 1978; Songshan Shaolin Martial Arts School, launched in 1980; and Songshan Shaolin Temple Monks Mission Training Base, founded in 1997.[44] By the 2010s, the wushu education industry had become an important supporting pillar of the local economy. There are currently over 50 martial arts boarding schools and wushu academies in Dengfeng, accommodating approximately 70,000 students a year.[45]

The biggest, Shaolin Tagou Martial Arts School, was founded by local Shaolin kung fu master Liu Baoshan, Vice-President of the Dengfeng City Martial Arts Association and President of the Chinese Buddhist Kung Fu Association. His school now accommodates more than 30,000 students and staff members a year. It offers academic and wushu training programmes at primary, secondary and higher education levels. Various

Figure 8.2 Students from a Local Martial Arts School Practising Kung Fu in Front of the Main Gate of Shaolin Monastery (1982).

Source: Yingjie Li, Visual China Group.

schools of wushu are taught, including Shaolin kung fu, Taijiquan, Xingyiquan, Baguazhang, Bajiquan, Boxing, free combat and Taekwondo. Students are trained to be wushu athletes, instructors, performers, actors, bodyguards and candidates for the army and the police force. Liu Baoshan reviewed his family's Shaolin kung fu tradition and the history of the Tagou Martial Arts School during an interview in 2003:

> To my knowledge, my family has been studying Shaolin kung fu for seven generations. . . . In my family lineage, there were four brothers, two of whom became Shaolin monks. I cannot remember very far, but my father, Liu Jingwen, went to Nanjing for a big guoshu tournament. . . . He won first place in the light heavyweight championship. He also won a championship in Shanghai. . . . When I was five, I began going to Luoyang to demonstrate my forms. . . . When I opened my school in 1978, there were only three students in the beginning. It started just in the family. More came later. My school grew to six rooms. My family had just three rooms. My original school building is still standing. Now my school has been developing for 24 years. At this moment, there are 11,700 students enrolled in my school . . . the purpose of my teaching is to popularise Chinese culture and the Shaolin spirit.[46]

Shaolin monks also took the initiative in reviving Shaolin kung fu. In 1979, a martial arts training centre was established by Xingzheng. Former Shaolin disciples Shi Yongzhai (1930–2014) and Shi Yongxiang (1913–1987) were invited to be the instructors, and more than 20 monks and lay disciples studied traditional Shaolin kung fu with them. The lay disciples were charged a small tuition fee of RMB 3 a month. They spent most of the time studying kung fu, as well as helping the monks with farm work.[47] In 1986, a Shaolin Kung Fu Research Academy was launched to study and archive Shaolin unarmed combat and weapon forms. In the same year, the state invested RMB 7 million in building Shaolin Wushu Stadium 700 metres east of the monastery (see Figure 8.3). Since opening in 1988, it has been used to provide accommodation and training for Shaolin warrior monks and students, and to host wushu performances for tourists.

In 1987, Shaolin established its own martial arts team. Two years later, the team was renamed the Shaolin Warrior Monks Troupe (SWMT). The mission of the troupe is to promote and publicise Shaolin kung fu and Chan Buddhism. Its main task is to perform Shaolin kung fu both in China and abroad. In June 1989, the SWMT performed in the Workers' Theatre in Haikou, Hainan Province, its first public wushu performance. In December 1990, the SWMT visited Japan and performed Shaolin kung fu in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and Yokohama.[48] In 1999, at the invitation of Buckingham Palace, the SWMT travelled to the United Kingdom and

Figure 8.3 Shaolin Wushu Stadium.

Source: © Hao Tie/Microfotos.

took part in the Royal Variety Performance in Birmingham, with members of the troupe received by Queen Elizabeth II.

Together with martial arts movies, the SWMT's performances have helped Shaolin to build its reputation globally. By the early 2000s, the SWMT had become so famous that it was frequently invited by domestic and international organisations and TV stations to demonstrate Shaolin kung fu to wider audiences. In addition to kung fu performances, the SWMT provides training programmes for wushu enthusiasts from China and abroad. Training camps are frequently held during school holidays to introduce Shaolin kung fu to children and young students.

Shaolin's attempts to build up its image in China and on the world stage have been supported by the Chinese government. In 1988, organised by the Henan Provincial Tourism Administration, the First International Shaolin Kung Fu Invitational Tournament was held in Shaolin Wushu Stadium. By 1990, three Shaolin Kung Fu Invitational Tournaments had been held in Dengfeng. In 1991, with the support of the Chinese Wushu Association (CWA), the Henan provincial government and the Zhengzhou municipal government, the event was upgraded to the Zhengzhou Shaolin Wushu Festival, with over 300 Shaolin kung fu enthusiasts from 15 countries and regions taking part. By 2016, 11 festivals were being held in Zhengzhou, Henan Province. In 1992, the Sports Ministry named Dengfeng County one of the country's First Group of National Wushu Towns (NWTs). Shaolin Monastery and martial arts schools in Dengfeng were expected to act as role models for the development of both traditional and modern forms of wushu at grass-roots level.

Since 2000, the SWMT has joined diplomatic missions to various countries in Asia, Africa, the Americas and Europe, performing Shaolin kung fu for diplomats and state leaders. In 2004, led by Abbot Yongxin, the SWMT joined President Hu Jintao's diplomatic mission to Brazil and performed in a cultural exchange show entitled Knowledge of China, organised by the Chinese State Council's News Office. It was the first time that Shaolin monks had performed in Latin America. In 2007, the SWMT joined a diplomatic mission to Moscow and performed at 'The Year of China in Russia' themed shows. The monks were received by President Vladimir Putin in the Kremlin. On 20 May 2009, during a culture festival held by the UN, Shaolin monks performed kung fu at UNESCO headquarters in Paris, France.[49] On 10 October 2013, during the first North American Shaolin Cultural Festival, Shaolin monks performed kung fu at the UN Headquarters in New York.[50] In May 2010, Shaolin monks joined a Chinese government cultural exchange mission to Cameroon, Congo and Equatorial Guinea and performed kung fu at celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the national independence of African countries.[51] By 2013, the troupe had performed Shaolin kung fu in more than 80 countries around the globe.[52]

Leading the Development of Chan Buddhism

On 12 April 1992, BAC President Zhao Puchu paid a visit to Shaolin. He was impressed by the development of the monastery, especially the booming kung fu culture. However, he suggested that Shaolin, as the cradle of Chan Buddhism, should focus more on reviving Chan, rather than overemphasise kung fu. This was explained in a poem he composed for Shaolin:

> The brave man stood in the snow,
> He cut off his arm to seek peace of mind.
> Shaolin ranks number one,
> For its Chan tradition, not kung fu.[53]

From that point on, Shaolin monks began to make increasing efforts to lead the development of Chan Buddhism. In March 1993, Shaolin established the Chinese Chan Poetry Research Association and began to publish its annual journal, *Chinese Chan Poetry*. In October 1993, Yongxin was made a BAC Committee member. In the same year, led by Yongxin, a Shaolin delegation visited Taiwan, the first time that a mainland Chinese Buddhist delegation had done so since the partition of China in 1949.

On 3 September 1995, Shaolin celebrated its one thousand five hundredth anniversary. The event attracted more than 11,000 people.[54] Eminent Dharma Masters from across China, including Abbot Shi Jinghui (1933–2013) from Bolin Chan Monastery, Abbot Shi Foyuan (1922–2009) from Nanhua Monastery, Abbot Shi Rende (1926–2001) from Diyuan Monastery, Abbot Shi Weixian (1920–2013) from Ciyun Monastery, Shi Jingliang from Taiwan, Shi Yuanjiong from Macau and Yangjia Living Buddha from Kumbum Monastery, attended the ceremony and held religious services to pray for world peace. The state showed its support for the event, with the Ministry of Posts & Telecommunications issuing a set of postage stamps on the theme of Shaolin. Yongxin addressed the audience on behalf of Shaolin monks. He reviewed the history of the monastery and indicated that Shaolin had benefited from the government's new religious policy and had a bright future:

> Shaolin has a long history and accommodated eminent monks such as Batuo, Bodhidharma, Huike, Fuyu and Shogen. Shaolin has left great cultural legacies to us, including legendary stories of Bodhidharma facing the wall, Huike cutting off his arm in the snow, the thirteen monks rescuing the Tang emperor, Japanese monks studying Chan in Shaolin and Shaolin monks' involvement in the war against the Japanese pirates, as well as beautiful Buddhist relics such as the pagodas, temples, statues, steles, calligraphy and paintings. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee,[55] religious policies have

> been properly implemented and the state has provided support for religious activities and protected the rights of the religious community. With the support from [Zhengzhou] municipal religious departments, big changes have taken place in Shaolin. Today, we host this anniversary to promote the glorious traditions of Buddhism and contribute to the development of the country.[56]

In March 1998, Yongxin became a member of the ninth NPC. A few months later, he was made Chairman of the Buddhist Association of Henan Province. In August 1999, Yongxin was ordained as the thirtieth-generation abbot of Shaolin. In September 2003, he began to serve as the Vice-Chairman of the BAC, indicating Shaolin's leading position in China's Buddhist community.

In 2000, a major reform was carried out by the BAC to regulate Buddhist monasteries and the clergy. A decree was issued on 15 September to resume the ordination certificate system, which had been abolished by the Qing government in 1774 (see Chapter 5).[57] Subsequently, Shaolin hosted a Three Ordination Platform Precept Transmission Ceremony between 24 May and 21 June 2007.[58] More than 1,000 Buddhist candidates from around the country participated in the event. Out of all the candidates, 730 of them passed the exam organised by the BAC and were authenticated as legitimate monks/nuns.[59] In 2010 and 2013, Shaolin hosted another two Three Ordination Platform Precept Transmission Ceremonies. More than 950 Buddhist candidates were awarded ordination certificates.

In 2005, the monastery hosted the Chan Seven Assembly (Chan Qi Fa Hui), a 49-day Buddhist retreat during which the clergy conduct intense meditation practice to seek enlightenment. It has since become one of Shaolin's most important annual religious events. Each year, the Assembly is attended by over 100 monks, nuns and Buddhist candidates from China and abroad.[60]

During the assembly, the monks are essentially banned from leaving the Meditation Hall and have to cast aside matters of life and death. They get up at 4:30am, and the day finishes at 11:45pm. Each meditation session lasts for the duration of the burning of 12 sticks of incense, followed by a walking session that lasts for the same amount of time. The practitioners walk in the Meditation Hall for a total distance of up to 30 kilometres each day. They must keep silent during the whole process and are not allowed to communicate with each other in any way. There is only a break of two hours between 3pm and 5pm. When sitting cross-legged in meditation, practitioners invariably wrap their legs with robes and sit upright so that the body is straight and the mind focused.

More than 1,000 rules apply to the assembly. For example, in the first 35 days the practitioners are not allowed to wash, shave their faces or take a bath. They must not nap during meditation, and there are specific

times when they can use the bathroom. An inspector patrols the Meditation Hall and uses a wooden board to hit practitioners if they fall asleep, turn their heads, scratch or make a sound. During the 49 days, group leaders discuss practitioners' feelings, experiences and achievements with them three times, and give them guidance.[61]

In September 2006, Shaolin hosted its first Shaolin Chan Inquiry (Shaolin Wen Chan), a forum for the Buddhist community and the general public to discuss and study Chan Buddhism. The forum features debate on gongan stories (see Chapter 3), calligraphy shows, photo exhibitions, public lectures, pilgrimages and prayer assemblies. The Ji Feng Chan Debate—literally 'thought-provoking insights'—is the prime event of the forum. Debate topics are selected from classic gongan. For example, the topics of the 2009 Ji Feng Chan Debate included 'Outside of mind there is no dharma; the eyes are filled with blue mountains. Why?'; 'On Heaven and Earth, I alone am the Honoured One. For what is he honoured?'; 'Bodhidharma faces a wall, to what does he turn his back?'[62] Contestants debate these topics in front of the audience and a group of judges determine the winner (see Figure 8.4).

By 2015, Shaolin had held ten Chan Inquiries, attracting hundreds of monks, lay disciples and celebrities from various fields, including university professors, scientists, politicians, musicians, writers and artists.[63] These events have not only contributed to the revival of Chan Buddhism, but have also successfully introduced Buddhism to a wider spectrum of

Figure 8.4 2015 Shaolin Chan Inquiry.
Source: Visual China Group.

society. As Abbot Yongxin remarked: 'As a religious activity, Chan debate embraces a great number of scholars and personages who have exerted positive influence on and inspired a generation of young people; it would never have gained so much popularity without these people.'[64]

In April 2009, Shaolin organised a Chinese Chan Buddhism Research Seminar. Scholars from more than 30 universities in China, Japan, South Korea and Vietnam attended the three-day event and discussed Chan Buddhism from cultural, historical, religious and philosophical perspectives.[65] In May 2012, after more than a century of absence, a Water, Land and Air Repentance Dharma Assembly was held in Shaolin. In March 2013, Shaolin opened a Chan Hall in Zhengzhou to promote Chan Buddhism among the general public. One month later, a three-day Chan Meditation Boot Camp was held in Shaolin. In August 2015, the first Cross-strait Buddhist Youth Forum was held at Shaolin. Dharma Masters and lay disciples from Taiwan and mainland China attended the event.[66]

In August 2016, the Belt and Road China Buddhism Culture Inheritance and Development Forum took place in Shaolin and a ritual entitled 'The Road of Destiny with Buddhism—World Lamp Transmission Ceremony' was held in the monastery:

> Ambassadors and cultural counsellors from more than 10 countries, such as Thailand, Macedonia, Armenia, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, the Republic of Belarus, Laos, Yemen, Cambodia, Turkey, Nepal, etc, and over two thousand foreign Shaolin apprentices and Buddhist worshippers, attended the ceremony.[67]

In addition to religious rituals, services and public events, Shaolin has been active in promoting academic studies of Chan Buddhism and Shaolin kung fu. The monastery launched a quarterly scholarly journal, *Dew of Chan* (Chan Lu), in May 1996. Due to increasing demand, the journal became bimonthly in 2011.[68] In 1999, Shaolin founded the Shaolin Culture Research Centre to conduct research on Shaolin and Chan Buddhism.[69] In 2002, Shaolin opened its own publishing house to produce books on Chan Buddhism and Shaolin kung fu. In 2010, a modern Scripture Hall and library was built to store Buddhist scriptures and publications.[70] By 2013, it was storing more than 300,000 volumes,[71] and the State Council declared it a Key Ancient Classics Site Protected at the Municipal Level.[72] In 2015, the *Chan Canon*, edited by Yongxin, was published by Cultural Relics Press. The *Canon* contains 200 volumes of literature related to Chan Buddhism published between the Southern and Northern dynasties (420–589) and the Republic of China Era (1912–1949).[73] It is the most comprehensive record of Chan Buddhism ever published in China.

From the late 1990s, Shaolin began to rebuild the network of subsidiary monasteries. Monasteries affiliated to Shaolin in dynastic China

were restored. At the same time, Shaolin provided funding to rebuild or renovate famous Buddhist temples and monasteries destroyed or abandoned in the twentieth century due to the economic hardship and unrest brought about by wars and revolutions. Dharma Masters were sent by Shaolin to manage these newly established subsidiary monasteries.[74] By 2016, Shaolin had set up 17 subsidiary monasteries in Liaoning, Henan, Shanxi and Yunnan provinces and Tianjin municipality:

- Donglin Monastery, Xingyang, Henan Province (1997)
- Guanyin Monastery, Shangqiu, Henan Province (2000)
- Ciyun Monastery, Gongyi, Henan Province (2001)
- Longhua Monastery, Xuchang, Henan Province (2002)
- Kongxiang Monastery, Sanmenxia, Henan Province (2002)
- Chaohua Monastery, Xinmi, Henan Province (2003)
- Shifo Monastery, Jiaozuo, Henan Province (2004)
- Yongqing Monastery, Dalian, Liaoning Province (2006)
- Xiansheng Monastery, Zhengzhou, Henan Province (2008)
- Kunming Shaolin Monastery, Kunming, Yunnan Province (2008)
- Puzhao Monastery, Qingfeng, Henan Province (2008)
- North Shaolin Monastery, Jixian, Tianjin (2009)
- Luya Monastery, Dengfeng, Henan Province (2010)
- Shuiyu Monastery, Dengfeng, Henan Province (2013)
- Kaiyuan Monastery, Zhengzhou, Henan Province (2013)
- Yueshan Monastery, Jiaozuo, Henan Province (2013)
- Zishou Monastery, Lingshi, Shanxi Province (2014)

Take North Shaolin Monastery at Mount Pan in Jixian, Tianjin, for example. The monastery is one of the five branches of Shaolin established by Shi Fuyu (1203–1275) during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). It was abandoned during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) when the Japanese army expelled all the locals in the region to eliminate possible resistance. After the establishment of the PRC in 1949, the monastery and its land were allocated to local farmers. Most of the buildings were demolished or converted into residences. In 1992, the Tianjin municipal government declared the monastery a Key Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the Municipal Level. Funded by Shaolin and the local government, a renovation project was launched in 2009 to restore North Shaolin Monastery to its ancient appearance. Dharma Master Shi Yanpei was appointed director (jianyuan) of the monastery.[75]

After more than 20 years of revival and rapid development, Shaolin is now widely recognised as one of the most influential religious institutions in China. For example, *China's Top Ten Temples* published by Xi'an Map Press in 2003[76] and *Map of China* published by Hunan Map Press in 2005[77] both list Shaolin as one of the top ten Buddhist monasteries in China.[78]

The monastery has also become a well-recognised brand of Chinese culture. On 6 July 2004, ex-President Jiang Zemin visited Shaolin and wrote an inscription for the monastery: 'Shaolin Culture, the Legacy of Humankind' (see Figure 8.5). In 2005, Shaolin kung fu was officially recognised as a National Representative Work of Human Oral and Intangible Heritage in China. On 22 March 2006, Russian President Vladimir Putin visited Shaolin, the first foreign state leader to do so.[79] In 2010, Shaolin was named a World Cultural Heritage Site by UNESCO for 'its great aesthetic beauty and its profound cultural connotations.'[80] In June 2013, the State Council declared Shaolin a Key Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the National Level.[81]

By 2013, Shaolin was housing over 200 monks and nuns. In addition, more than 300 Shaolin monks and nuns were serving in Shaolin's subsidiary monasteries in China and cultural centres in foreign countries.[82] In total, there are now about 100 warrior monks training, teaching and performing Shaolin kung fu in China and abroad.[83] Due to the massive number of tourists who flood into the monastery seven days a week, 365 days a year, Shaolin is no longer a quiet religious site hidden on a mountain. The monks are endeavouring to cope with the changes to Chinese society and balance their monastic life of prayer and work with tourism.

Every day, the monks get up at 5am. Dawn prayers take place between 5:30am and 6:30am, during which the participants chant the Śūraṅgama

Figure 8.5 Jiang Zemin's Inscription for Shaolin: 'Shaolin Culture, the Legacy of Humankind.'

Source: © Miao Lu/Microfotos.

Sūtra (Leng Yan Jing) and the Maha Karuna Dharani (Da Bei Zhou). The monastery then opens to tourists at 8am and the monks are assigned duties related to the daily operation of the monastery. Warrior monks teach and practise kung fu, a tradition passed down through generations. Noon prayer starts at 11:20am, followed by lunch. Dusk prayers take place between 4:30pm and 5:30pm, during which the monks chant the Amitābha Sūtra (A Mi Tuo Jing) and the Eighty-Eight Buddhas Sastra (Ba Shi Ba Fo Chanhui Wen), and conduct the Mengshan Offering Ceremony (Meng Shan Shi Shi Yi). Dinner is at 5:40pm and the monastery closes at 6pm. The monks then have three hours of free time to relax before sleep.[84]

Attracting a Global Audience

The past three decades have seen the spread of 'Shaolin fever' across the world. Influenced by kung fu movies and TV series, especially Bruce Lee's *The Way of the Dragon* (1972) and *Enter the Dragon* (1973), David Carradine's *Kung Fu* (1972–1975) and *Kung Fu: The Movie* (1986), Zhang Che's (1923–2002) *Five Shaolin Masters* (Shaolin Wu Zu, 1974), Liu Jialiang's (1934–2013) *The 36th Chamber of Shaolin* (Shaolin Sanshi Liu Fang, 1978), Jet Li's *The Shaolin Temple* (1982) and Reese Madigan's *American Shaolin* (1991), Shaolin kung fu has become one of the best-known Chinese martial arts styles among Western audiences.[85]

From the 1970s, wushu enthusiasts began to set up Shaolin kung fu academies and training centres in the United States. In 1978, the Dennis Brown Shaolin Wu-Shu Training Center was founded in Washington, DC, by American martial artist Dennis Brown. In 1993, a delegation of seven Shaolin representatives visited the United States and performed Shaolin kung fu for the general public.[86] During the tour, two Shaolin monks—Shi Yanming and Shi Guolin—decided to stay in America. In 1994, Shi Yanming opened the USA Shaolin Temple in New York. One year later, another Shaolin Temple was founded in New York by Shi Guolin.[87]

In the early 1990s, inspired by Hong Kong martial arts movies, especially *The 36th Chamber of Shaolin* (1978) and *Shaolin Yu Wu Dang* (1983), a group of rappers in New York founded a rap group called the Wu-Tang Clan. Their first album, *Enter the Wu-Tang (36 Chambers)*, divided into a Shaolin section and a Wu-Tang section, has become one of the most important and successful albums in hip-hop history. In 2014, the Wu-Tang Clan produced a compilation album entitled *Once Upon a Time in Shaolin*, of which only a single copy exists. The album was sold in 2015 for USD 2 million, making it the most expensive musical work ever sold.[88]

Members of the Wu-Tang Clan are not only kung fu movie fans but also active wushu practitioners. In 1995, the leader, RZA (Robert Fitzgerald

Diggs), and other core members of the group became friends of Shi Yanming and began to study kung fu and Chan Buddhism in Yanming's USA Shaolin Temple. Yanming was invited by the Wu-Tang Clan to record for their albums.[89] RZA explains the dialectical relationship between Shaolin kung fu and the Wu-Tang Clan's music:

> Kung fu movies resonate well with us because of our natural resonance with them. It's been said that Bodhidharma was part of the Davidian tribe of Africans who migrated to South India. And the martial art forms that he taught and learned were originally from the continent of Africa. I think our original ideas, dance and culture makes us predisposed to communicate with the martial arts. . . . Music is harmonious with life. There are many Shaolin sutras that say, 'Five tones deafen the ear.' How chi flows, music flows. That's one of the reasons I've been successful in music, because of my martial application. It's something that can't be defined, but it can definitely be heard.[90]

By the late 1990s, Shaolin had gained mainstream attention and entered the wider cultural spectrum in the West. In 1999, a 3D fighting game called *Wu-Tang: Shaolin Style* was released by video game publisher Activision on Sony PlayStation. Characters in the game are based on the nine members of the Wu-Tang Clan, and features their music and voice. In the same year, another video game called *Shao Lin* was released by THQ on PlayStation. In 2005, a new version of popular video game series Mortal Kombat, *Mortal Kombat: Shaolin Monks*, was released on Sony PlayStation 2 and Microsoft Xbox. Also in 2005, Shaolin Monastery and Shaolin kung fu performance appeared on American animated sitcom *The Simpsons*, when the Simpsons family travelled to China in season 16, episode 12, 'Goo Goo Gai Pan.' These video games and animated cartoons helped introduce Shaolin kung fu culture to young people in Western countries.

During the past two decades, the myths of Shaolin kung fu have been unveiled in documentaries such as *Secrets of the Warrior's Power* (1997) and *China Past Forward—CEO of Shaolin* (2006) on the Discovery Channel, *Shaolin Ulysses: Kungfu Monks in America* (2003) on PBS, *Myths and Logic of Shaolin Kung Fu* (2002), *Kung Fu Monk* (2005) and *Inside: Kung Fu Inc* (2008) on National Geographic, *Extreme Pilgrim—Buddhism, Shaolin Temple, Xinyi Quan* (2008) on BBC, *Secrets of Shaolin with Jason Scott Lee* (2012) produced by Beach House Pictures and *Zen Combatant—Shaolin* (2010) produced by Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK). In 2007, the memoir *American Shaolin* by Matthew Polly, which tells the story of the author studying Shaolin kung fu in China, became a United States bestseller, further boosting the popularity of Shaolin in the West.[91]

In 2011, the *Financial Times* commented that, as the home of Chan Buddhism and the source of inspiration for kung fu novels and movies, Shaolin has become an integral part of Chinese popular culture. The editor argued: 'In fact, it is probably one of the most famous global brands to have come out of China in any industry.'[92]

From the early 2000s, with the growing interest in Shaolin kung fu and Chan Buddhism in foreign countries, Shaolin Monastery began to establish cultural centres in Europe and North America.

As early as 2001, Shaolin lay disciple Deller Lehner established a Shaolin Cultural Centre in Berlin, Germany. In September 2010, the Shaolin Europe Association (SEA) was launched in Vienna, Austria. Based in Berlin, the SEA consists of Shaolin branch units from 13 European countries.[93] Shaolin monks are sent to these centres to teach Shaolin kung fu and Chan Buddhism.[94] In September 2012, organised by the SEA, the First European Shaolin Culture Festival was staged in Berlin.

In the United States, the California State Assembly passed a resolution in 2004, designating 21 March as Songshan Shaolin Temple Day. Every year, Shaolin monks travel to California to display the four pillars of Shaolin culture—Chan Buddhism, Shaolin kung fu, traditional Chinese medicine and vegetarian cuisine, and classic art. In May 2011, the Shaolin Association of North America (SANA), which consists of eight cultural education and training centres in the United States and Canada, was established in Los Angeles. One year later, on 14 October 2013, the first North American Shaolin Cultural Festival took place in the Los Angeles Convention Center.

By 2014, Shaolin had established 52 cultural centres around the globe.[95] These centres are among the most important institutions and organisations effectively promoting Chinese culture and religion in foreign lands. Every year, Shaolin receives foreign kung fu masters and practitioners who travel thousands of miles from around the world to pay tribute to the monastery (see Figure 8.6). Below is a list of some of the overseas Shaolin kung fu and martial arts organisations that visited Shaolin Monastery between 1980 and 2016:

- 1980: World Shorinji Kempo Organisation, Japan
- 1984: Shaolin kung fu practitioners from Southeast Asia
- 1986: Wah Lum Kung Fu & Tai Chi Temple Orlando, USA
- 1992: Shaolin kung fu practitioners from Singapore
- 1992: American Shaolin Martial Arts Center
- 1993: Gaoxiong National Skills Association, Taiwan
- 1999: USA Shaolin Temple
- 2006: United Studios of Self Defense, USA
- 2010: USA Shaolin Temple
- 2011: All Japan Shaolin Temple Qigong Association, Japan
- 2011: Shaolin Temple Deutschland, Germany

Figure 8.6 The Shaolin Monastery Stele of 1992: 'Chinese Shaolin Centers USA, led by Masters Sharon and David Soard, Paid Tribute to Shaolin Temple, June 1989 and again, Joined by Grandmasters, in June 1992.'

Source: Photo taken by author, July 2016.

- 2011: Chinese Shaolin Center, Colorado Springs, USA
- 2012: Shaolin Culture Centre, Milan, Italy
- 2013: The Global Traditional Wing Chun Kung Fu Association, Australia
- 2014: Moscow Shaolin Qigong and Kung Fu School, Russia
- 2014: Shaolin Temple Kultur Zentrum, Austria
- 2015: Greek Shaolin Temple Cultural Centre
- 2015: Shaolin Temple India
- 2015: Arizona Shaolin Cultural Center, USA
- 2015: Shaolin Black and White, France
- 2015: The Centre for Studies of Martial Arts 'Damo,' Russia
- 2016: World Shorinji Kempo Organisation, Japan
- 2016: United Studios of Self Defense, USA
- 2016: Moscow Shaolin Qigong and Kung Fu School, Russia

In addition to Western countries, Shaolin is attracting kung fu fans from Africa.[96] In January 2012, a group of students from Gabon, Rwanda and Cameroon joined Shaolin for a five-year study programme. In September 2013, 20 students from Tanzania, Ethiopia, Mauritius, Uganda and Nigeria joined the first Shaolin Kung Fu African Class of the Ministry of Culture, held in Shaolin to study Shaolin kung fu, Chan Buddhism and traditional Chinese medicine. They graduated in December 2013 after three months of intense training.[97] By 2016, Shaolin had hosted four Shaolin Kung Fu African Classes and produced 79 graduates, who are expected to serve as cultural ambassadors between China and Africa.[98]

Dominique Martin Saatenang, best known as the 'African Bruce Lee' or 'Africa's First Shaolin Monk,' is a good example of how Shaolin kung fu has facilitated cultural exchange between Africa and China. Saatenang was born in a village in Bafou in Cameroon in 1975, where his grandfather was the king. He became a successful businessman after graduating from college. Inspired by Bruce Lee's kung fu movies, he sold his business in Africa at the age of 24 and travelled to China to pursue his kung fu dream. He joined Shaolin Monastery and became a thirty-fourth-generation Shaolin monk under the dharma name Shi Yanmai, making him Shaolin's first African disciple. He studied in Shaolin for four years and then enrolled in Beijing Sport University and obtained a diploma in wushu. He competed in various international wushu competitions and won two silver medals at the Wushu World Championships in 2006, a gold medal at the 2006 Wushu International Festival in Hong Kong and a trophy at the Fourth Mediterranean Wushu Cup held in Italy in 2010.

During the past years, Saatenang has made great efforts to promote Shaolin kung fu and create cultural awareness. In 2011, he was named an Ambassador of Shaolin by Abbot Yongxin. He has opened Shaolin kung fu schools in Mali, Gabon, Senegal, Cameroon and the Ivory Coast, and has taught Shaolin kung fu to more than 3,000 students. In 2012, Saatenang created an arts troupe called the Shaolin Black & White, made up

of martial artists, acrobats and dancers from different backgrounds and countries. The troupe has performed in African countries, China, France and the United States.[99] Saatenang remarks:

> It's thanks to kung fu movies and thanks to Bruce Lee that I found myself in China. I became the African Bruce Lee. . . . You can only really know someone through his or her culture. Through kung fu, I have had to develop respect and a deep understanding of China. The link between China and Africa has become so important, and I think Chinese culture is an essential bridge for the development of our economic relationship.[100]

Conclusion

Since the launch of reform and opening up in the late 1970s, China has experienced rapid development and profound changes. The CCP recognised the importance of religion in society and sought to more openly ensure the prosperity of mainstream religions to serve the purposes of social stability and inter-ethnic harmony. Benefiting from the new religious policy, Shaolin Monastery entered a period of revival. State-funded renovations were carried out in the late 1970s and the 1980s to restore Shaolin's ancient appearance.

At the same time, thanks to the kung fu fever created by Hong Kong martial arts movies, Shaolin began growing into one of China's most popular tourist attractions. After 30 years of rapid development, Shaolin kung fu has become a well-recognised brand of Chinese culture, and the fame of Shaolin has given birth to a huge wushu education industry in Dengfeng.

By the early 1990s, most of Shaolin's buildings and religious artefacts had been restored. Thereafter, Shaolin monks began to turn their focus to reviving Chan Buddhism. Religious rituals, services and public events are frequently held at the monastery to build up the influence of Chan Buddhism both nationally and internationally. The network of subsidiary monasteries has been restored.

Despite the rapid development, Shaolin faces mounting criticism. Many scholars and critics argue that Shaolin has transformed into a profit-making tourist attraction rather than a holy Buddhist site. Others believe that Shaolin monks spend too much time on kung fu performances and diplomatic visits and therefore neglect their religious work. Abbot Yongxin's strategy of promoting Shaolin and Chan Buddhism, such as reviving the network of affiliated monasteries in China, opening cultural centres in foreign countries, establishing Shaolin Industrial Development Co, Ltd to manage the monastery's intangible assets, registering Shaolin Monastery as a trademark, inviting celebrities to join religious activities, hosting fee-paying kung fu training camps and investing in kung fu movies and TV dramas, has also been heavily criticised.[101]

These criticisms reflect the problems, difficulties and challenges facing Shaolin. However, it is important to point out that it was these very activities that made possible the rapid revival of Shaolin. The development of Shaolin during the past three decades is actually the epitome of a Chinese society experiencing rapid transformation in an era of reform, modernisation, commercialisation and globalisation. As Yongxin has explained:

> We must become self-sustaining first before talking about development. We must understand Shaolin's strength and find an appropriate development model for Buddhism in the context of reform and opening up. . . . The key to an assessment of whether these commercial endeavours are right or wrong is whether or not they have benefited the development of Shaolin Temple and the promotion of Buddhism.[102] . . . The difficulty lies in operating in a commercialised society; how can we utilise the business and profit agendas to help transform and liberate people, instead of allowing business to 'transform' us? On the one hand, it requires us to adapt to social development while we continue to raise the moral and religious qualities of our monks. On the other hand, it requires that we proactively engage and immerse ourselves in the secular world, and apply correct faith, correct thought and correct action to guide the healthy development of Buddhist culture and Chan martial arts culture. Standing in the midst of this great current of commercialisation, if you do not transform it, it will transform you.[103]

After visiting Shaolin and several other Buddhist monasteries in China, journalist Perry Garfinkel also observed optimistically in his 2006 US bestseller *Buddha or Bust*:

> I had been told before I went to China that today Buddhist monasteries, under the Communist government's control, had become more like museums and tourist attractions. They are that—as much for Western visitors as for the Chinese—but as I watched local people lighting incense, bowing three times at each and every statue, I thought that sooner or later, by going through the motions, even if by rote at first, Chinese were watering the Buddhist garden.[104]

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9 Conclusion

Shaolin in the Dynastic Circle

History has repeatedly shown that the fate of Shaolin is closely linked to that of the country. The rise and fall of Shaolin is based on the social and economic environment and the ruling regime's religious policy, and the development of Shaolin has always followed the pattern of the dynastic cycle.[1] Throughout history, Shaolin has enjoyed prosperity when the country is unified and at peace, but has rarely escaped the destruction and chaos brought about by political turbulence and the collapse of dynasties.

After the establishment of the Northern Wei (386–534), the Buddhist faith was officially supported and promoted by Emperor Xiaowen (467–499) to consolidate the legitimacy of his regime and strengthen the unity of the empire. The birth of Shaolin in 496 was a product of his pro-Buddhist religious policy.

By the middle of the sixth century, the rapid development of Buddhism had convinced Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou (543–578) that religious institutions had become too rich and powerful, and thus might challenge his rule. He banned Buddhism in 574 and ordered monks and nuns to return to lay life. Like other Buddhist monasteries, Shaolin was closed down. It reopened in 580 when the ban was lifted by Emperor Jing of the Northern Zhou (573–581).

Following the establishment of the Sui dynasty (581–618), Emperor Wen of Sui—a devout Buddhist—was eager to build up his image as a divinely ordained Buddhist ruler and use the shared Buddhist faith among people in the south and the north to consolidate the unity of the newly established empire. Shaolin was hailed by the emperor for the significant role it played in people's religious lives and for its contribution in bringing peace and harmony to the world. Benefiting from reunification and Emperor Wen's political and economic reforms, Shaolin enjoyed several decades of prosperity. However, when the Sui dynasty (581–618) began to fall apart in the early seventh century, Shaolin was looted by bandits and was set on fire and destroyed.

In the Tang dynasty (618–907), as Buddhism continued to grow in popularity as a religion and philosophy of life, and due to Shaolin's special

contribution to Emperor Taizong Li Shimin (598–649)'s expedition against warlord Wang Shichong (591–621), the monastery enjoyed royal patronage and prosperity, and gradually developed into a centre of Buddhist studies.

The Tang dynasty was dissolved in 907. Thereafter, China experienced half a century of unrest and disunity. Five dynasties rose in succession in the north, while ten small kingdoms were established in the south. From the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, China was ruled in turn by the Han, the Jurchen and the Mongols. The Northern Song (960–1126) government made efforts to revive Buddhism. Thanks to support from the ruling class, especially Confucian scholar-bureaucrats, Chan grew to become the dominant form of Buddhism in China, with the Caodong and Linji schools the most popular branches. Against this background, Shaolin began to transform into a leading Chan monastery.

In the following centuries, despite the changes of dynasty, the rulers of the Jin (1115–1234) and Yuan (1271–1368) dynasties adopted the Tang and Song ethos and developed a tolerant attitude toward all religions. Shaolin maintained its imperial connections and continued to enjoy prosperity. When the Yuan dynasty began to fall apart in the 1350s, Shaolin was again attacked and ransacked by rebels.

During the first half of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Buddhism enjoyed steady development. Chan remained the dominant form. The Caodong branch was carried on by the Shaolin lineage, and when Shaolin Monastery reached its zenith in the early sixteenth century, against a background of social unrest and widespread rebellions, the monks became involved in politics and served the Ming government as a loyal military force. In the late 1630s, Shaolin became a victim of the chaos brought about by the collapse of the Ming dynasty. The monastery was attacked by a local rebel-bandit force, and thereafter fell into decay.

Entering the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), Shaolin maintained a good relationship with the court and enjoyed a period of peace and stability. Despite the Manchu rulers' supportive stance toward Buddhism, the Qing dynasty saw a decline in Buddhist faith. By the nineteenth century, Buddhism had stagnated and Shaolin was affected, failing to re-establish itself as a centre of Buddhist studies and declining accordingly.

Following the collapse of the Qing dynasty, China was carved up by warlords and suffered political chaos and instability. Shaolin was dragged into the conflicts between the Beiyang government, warlords and revolutionary forces. In 1928, the monastery was torched by warlord Shi Yousan. In the 1930s and 1940s, discouraged by the Nationalist government's anti-Buddhist religious policy and affected by the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) and the Civil War between the Communists and Nationalists, Shaolin never recovered from the destruction of 1928.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Communist government established tight control over religious institutions

in order to have them serve the interests of the state. All land owned by Shaolin was confiscated and distributed to local farmers. Fewer than 20 monks stayed. From the late 1950s onward, Beijing's policy on religion became more radical. Religion came to be regarded as a part of feudal culture that should be abolished. During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the state encouraged the people to declare war against feudalism and religious institutions became prime targets. Shaolin was ransacked by various groups of Red Guards and the monks were forced to stop performing rituals.

From the late 1970s, Beijing recognised the importance of religion in society. Mainstream religions were revived to serve the purposes of social stability and inter-ethnic harmony. After a long period of decay stretching back to the late Qing dynasty, Buddhism began to rise again. Renowned monasteries and temples were turned into tourist attractions to boost local economies. The state provided funding to renovate Shaolin. By the early 1990s, most of Shaolin's buildings and religious artefacts had been restored. At the same time, assisted by the kung fu fever brought about by wuxia novels and movies, Shaolin Monastery became one of China's most important religious institutions and a popular tourist attraction. After 40 years of development, Shaolin is now widely recognised as a brand of Chinese culture.

Buddhism, Kung Fu and National Identity

Ernest Gellner asserts that nationalism is 'the consequence of a new form of social organisation, based on deeply internalised, education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state. It uses some of the pre-existent cultures, generally transforming them in the process.'[2] Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu are among these pre-existent cultures that serve the construction of a shared national identity among the Chinese.

Karl W. Deutsch has argued that national identity is based on a 'state of mind which gives "national" messages, memories and images a preferred status in social communication and a greater weight in the making of decisions.'[3] A nationalist devotes greater attention to those messages which 'carry specific symbols of nationality, or which originate from a specific national source, or which are couched in a specific national code of language or culture.'[4] Shaolin carries at least two symbols of nationality for the Chinese—Buddhism and kung fu, both regarded as national codes of traditional Chinese culture.

Although Buddhism was a foreign import from India, the official promotion of Buddhism between the fifth and tenth centuries, and the unity of the Three Teachings since the Song dynasty, gradually transformed it into a mainstream indigenous religious tradition. By the Tang dynasty, Shaolin had earned great fame as the cradle of Chan Buddhism and grown into a centre of Buddhist studies. From the late eleventh century,

in the context of the rise of Chan as the dominant form of monasticism, Shaolin started to adopt the Caodong school of Chan. During the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), Shaolin established its position as the centre of Caodong Chan orthodoxy and one of the leading religious institutions in China.

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Shaolin monks served the government as a loyal military force. Battles against rebels and pirates in the first half of the sixteenth century helped Shaolin extend its fame and identity outside the religious world and capture the attention of diverse segments of Ming society. Assisted by religious mysticism, this fame transformed Shaolin from a centre of Buddhist studies into a major player in the martial arts community. The Shaolin monks had created a wide range of martial arts forms and combat techniques, with martial arts training becoming an integral part of monastic life. The unique combination of Chan Buddhism and kung fu not only facilitated the integration of Buddhism into Chinese culture, but also fostered the development of Chinese martial arts. Assisted by Chan philosophy, Shaolin kung fu developed into a supporting pillar of Chinese martial arts and a source of strength and pride for the nation.

According to Peter Alter, national consciousness and national identity emerge when people feel 'that they belong primarily to the nation, and whenever affective attachment and loyalty to that nation override all other attachments and loyalties.'[5] Throughout history, Shaolin has maintained a reasonably good and cooperative relationship with ruling regimes, whether Han, Jurchen, Mongol, Manchu, Nationalist or Communist. There has always been a political element to the development of Chan Buddhism and kung fu in the monastery, and loyalty has been the key. The stories of 13 Shaolin monks assisting future Tang emperor Li Shimin against warlord Wang Shichong in the Battle of the Cypress Valley Estate in 621, Shaolin's involvement in military operations against rebels and pirates during the Ming dynasty, the Shaolin Guard Regiment's contribution to protecting local towns and villages from bandits in the 1910s and 1920s, and Shaolin monks' participation in Communist guerrilla warfare against the Japanese army during the Second Sino-Japanese War have all helped Shaolin build up its image as a symbol of patriotism and a source of national identity. The Shaolin monks have been honoured as heroes who fought for the nation's sovereignty and integrity.

Eric Hobsbawm divides the history of national movements into three phases. Phase A is purely cultural, literary and folkloric; in phase B, a body of pioneers and militants of 'the national idea' emerge and launch political campaigns for this idea; in phase C, nationalist programmes acquire mass support. Throughout its history, Shaolin has been interwoven with these three phases.

In phase A, in the context of the rise of Buddhism as a dominant form of religion, Shaolin, the cradle of Chan, developed into an important

religious and cultural symbol of the nation. Legendary stories of the first Chan patriarch Bodhidharma and the second patriarch Shi Huike; the Kinnara King's legendary battle against the Red Turbans; Emperor Gaozong (628–683), Empress Wu Zetian (624–705) and the Qianlong Emperor (1711–1799)'s visits to Shaolin; the Shaolin kung fu manuals produced in the Ming and Qing dynasties; and descriptions of Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu in folk tales, literary sketches, local history records, poems and travelogues all helped Shaolin to establish its cultural significance.

In phase B, China was dragged into political unrest and economic hardship in the nineteenth century as a result of domestic rebellions and Western incursions. Due to its renowned martial arts tradition and well-known loyalty to the Ming regime, Shaolin came to be associated with the Heaven and Earth Society, an anti-Manchu fraternal organisation founded in the late Qing dynasty. Legendary stories were created linking the foundation myth of the Society with Shaolin, turning Shaolin into a symbol of rebellion and a source of ethno-national identity. In the 1900s, members of the Heaven and Earth Society joined the Anti-Manchu Movement launched by Han Chinese nationalists and revolutionists, and provided substantial support to the Nationalist Revolution of 1911. In this period, Shaolin, as a totem of traditional culture and indigenous strength, nourished a 'national idea' and indirectly served the Nationalist Revolution which transformed China from a culture-bound empire into a modern nation state.

In phase C, during the Republic of China era (1912–1949), spurred on by nationalism and aided by militarism, Chinese martial arts was widely recognised as a basic approach to improving individual fitness and aiding national defence. Supported by the government, a nationwide campaign was launched to promote guoshu (national skills). Empowered by nationalism, Shaolin kung fu developed alongside other schools of martial arts and continued to strengthen its influence in Chinese society.

Benedict Anderson points out that a nation is a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group. He asserts that print media facilitates the construction of national identity.[6] The development of Shaolin kung fu in the first half of the twentieth century was accompanied by the rise of wuxia fiction novels and movies which functioned as an important vehicle for the 'maintenance and reinvention of nationhood.'[7] These novels and movies served two purposes: retrieving traditional Chinese culture and constructing a national identity. As the cradle of Chan Buddhism and a centre of Chinese martial arts, Shaolin was regarded as a symbol of indigenous virtue and strength and therefore became a popular theme in wuxia novels and martial arts movies produced in the twentieth century. A 'national idea' was nourished and consolidated by wuxia stories based on the history of Shaolin, the foundation myths of the Heaven and Earth Society and the anti-Manchu folk heroes from the Shaolin school. Living in an era of

rapid social transformation and influenced by the prevailing nationalism, Chinese novelists and movie producers consciously or unconsciously used legendary Shaolin heroes and Shaolin kung fu to invent a cultural identity, and aided the construction of a collective modern national identity among the Chinese. These wuxia novels and movies in turn helped Shaolin lay a rhetorical claim to Chinese identity.

National identity is a moral consciousness nourished by individuals. As Ernest Renan has argued:

> A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form.[8]

As an important religious institution with more than 1,500 years of history, Shaolin has not only witnessed but played a part in the transformation of China from antiquity to modernity. It has created a legacy of remembrance which has served the formation of the nation's soul and spiritual principles.

Over the course of time, Shaolin Monastery has survived repeated destruction in persecutions, rebellions and wars. Historical writings, folk tales, martial arts manuals and wuxia stories produced in the past centuries have helped in the formation of a unique Shaolin culture. Martial arts enthusiasts' attempts to promote Shaolin kung fu in the 1920s and 1930s, the dominant position of Shaolin in wuxia novels and movies, Shaolin kung fu fever and the revival of Shaolin Monastery in the past four decades all demonstrate the Chinese people's strong will to continue to value and preserve such heritage.

As a powerful item of cultural heritage in an era of globalisation, Shaolin has not only contributed to the construction of a national identity among the Chinese, but has also played its part in cultural exchanges between China and the international community. It has served and will continue to serve the building of China's national image.

Notes

1. The dynastic cycle is a theory explaining the rise and fall of Chinese dynasties. According to the theory, the development of Chinese dynasties follows the same pattern: 1. A strong ruler obtains the Mandate of Heaven and overthrows the corrupt ruling regime, or unifies China by defeating rivals. 2. The new dynasty enjoys a long period of peace and prosperity. 3. The dynasty starts to decline due to corruption, financial crisis, natural disaster, rebellion and invasion. 4. The emperor loses the Mandate of Heaven and the dynasty is doomed. A new ruler emerges to reunite China under a new dynasty.

2. Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 48.
3. Peter Alter, *Nationalism* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), 7.
4. Alter, *Nationalism*, 8.
5. Alter, *Nationalism*, 9.
6. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 44.
7. Sheldon H. Lu and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, 'Introduction: Mapping the Field of Chinese-Language Cinema', in *Chinese-Language Film: Historiography, Poetics, Politics*, ed. Sheldon H. Lu and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 2.
8. Emest Renan, 'What Is a Nation?', in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (Abingdon: Routledge, 1990), 19.

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Appendix

Chronology of Major Events in the History of Shaolin

Year	*Event*
496	Emperor Xiaowen (467–499) builds Shaolin Monastery underneath the Wuru Peak of Mount Song for the Indian monk Batuo.
520s	China's first Chan patriarch Bodhidharma (?–mid-530s) joins Shaolin.
527	Shi Huike (487–593), the second Chan patriarch, joins Shaolin.
574	Emperor Wu (543–578) of the Northern Zhou launches persecution of Buddhism.
577	Shaolin Monastery closed.
580	Shaolin reopened and renamed Zhihu Monastery.
580s–90s	Shaolin hailed by Emperor Wen of Sui and awarded the Cypress Valley Estate.
618	Shaolin looted and burnt down by rebels.
621	Shaolin monks side with Tang armies to recover Huanzhou.
672	Emperor Gaozong (628–683) and Empress Wu Zetian (624–705) of Tang visit Shaolin.
683	Shi Faru (638–689), dharma heir of the fifth Chan patriarch Shi Hongren (602–675), joins Shaolin.
728	Erection of the Shaolin Monastery Stele: 'The Emperor Tang Songyue Shaolin Monastery Monument.'
797	Southern Chan master Shi Weikuan (748–817) joins Shaolin.
844	Emperor Wuzong (814–846) of Tang launches the Huichang Persecution of Buddhism (844–845).
1089	Caodong Chan master Shi Baoen (1058–1111) joins Shaolin.
1140	Caodong Chan master Shi Fahe (1079–1157) joins Shaolin.
1209	Linji Chan master Shi Jiaoheng (1150–1219) made abbot of Shaolin; Erection of the Shaolin Monastery Stele: 'Saints of the Three Teachings.'
1245	Caodong Chan master Shi Fuyu (1203–1275) made abbot of Shaolin and goes on to introduce a patriarchal clan system.
1329	Japanese monk Kogen Shogen (1295–1364) joins Shaolin.
1350s	Shaolin attacked and looted by the Red Turbans.
1409	Prince of Zhou, Zhu Su (1361–1425), donates jade statue of Amitābha to Shaolin.
1510	Shaolin monks summoned by Ming court to join military operations against rebels headed by Liu Chong and Liu Chen.
1517	Erection of the Shaolin Monastery Stele: 'Legend of Narayana.'

Year	*Event*
1522	Shaolin monks join Ming army expeditions against rebellions launched by Miao tribes in Yunnan and miners in Shandong.
1548	Pagoda erected in Shaolin to commemorate the Shaolin monk Shi Zhouyou (?–1547) for his military contribution to the Ming army.
1553	Shaolin monk Shi Zhoucan (1517–1574) leads Shaolin monks to battle against rebels headed by Shi Shangzhao (?–1533).
1553–55	Shaolin monks assist Ming army in battles against pirates in coastal regions of southeastern China.
1565	Erection of the Shaolin Monastery Stele: 'Illustration of the Unity of Three Teachings and Nine Schools.'
1566	General Yu Dayou (1503–1579) visits Shaolin. Two Shaolin monks follow him to study staff methods.
1587	The Wanli Emperor (1563–1620) orders the construction of the Thousand Buddhas Hall.
1616	Martial arts expert Cheng Zongyou, who used to study kung fu in Shaolin, compiles *Elucidation of Shaolin Staff Methods*.
1639	Shaolin monks join Yang Sichang's troops and take part in battles against rebels in Shaanxi, Huguang and Hunan.
1641	Shaolin Monastery attacked by a rebel-bandit force led by Li Jiyu (?–1647).
1688	Qing government awards 88 acres of land to Shaolin.
1704	The Kangxi Emperor (1654–1722) writes two tablet inscriptions for Shaolin.
1735	Approved by the Yongzheng Emperor (1678–1735), Shaolin receives a major renovation.
1748	*Records of Shaolin* (Shaolin Si Zhi) published.
1750	The Qianlong Emperor (1711–1799) visits Shaolin.
1774	Qing court abolishes the ordination certificate system.
1828	Wanyan Linqing (1791–1846), Surveillance Commissioner of Henan, visits Shaolin and watches kung fu performance by Shaolin monks.
1912	Shaolin monk Shi Henglin (1865–1923) appointed Head of Dengfeng County Buddhist Registry and made Commander of the Shaolin Guard Regiment.
1923	Shi Miaoxing (1891–1927) succeeds Henglin as Head of Shaolin and leader of the Shaolin Guard Regiment.
1928	Shaolin burnt down by warlord Shi Yousan (1891–1940).
1930	Historian Tang Hao (1896–1959) publishes *A Study of Shaolin and Wudang*.
1936	Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975), leader of the KMT and Chairman of the National Government of China, visits Shaolin.
1945	Several Shaolin monks join military operations led by the CCP's Yanshi Independent Regiment against Japanese forces and their puppet troops.
1950	All Shaolin farmland confiscated by the CCP government and distributed to farmers.
1951–52	Funded by the state, repair works carried out by the Dengfeng County Culture Centre to repair the Thousand Buddhas Hall.
1958	Government founds the Dengfeng County Amateur Wushu Sports School. Shi Degen (1914–1970), chief instructor of the Shaolin warrior monks, invited to join the school as a wushu coach.

(*Continued*)

(Continued)

Year	*Event*
1963	Shaolin Monastery, the First Patriarch Temple and the Shaolin Pagoda Forest declared to be Key Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the Provincial Level by the Henan provincial government.
1966	Red Guards ransack Shaolin.
1974	Shaolin begins to be governed by the Dengfeng County Administration of Cultural Heritage; The movie *Five Shaolin Masters* comes out in Hong Kong.
1978	Shaolin opened to foreign tourists; The movie *The 36th Chamber of Shaolin* comes out in Hong Kong.
1979	Headed by Doshin So (1911–1980), founder of the Shorinji Kempo, a Japanese delegation visits Shaolin.
1981	Religious Affairs Bureau established by the Dengfeng County government to govern Shaolin and other religious institutions in the region.
1982	The movie *The Shaolin Temple* comes out in China.
1983	Shaolin named a National Key Buddhist Monastery by State Council.
1984	Shaolin monks regain control over the monastery from the government.
1986	Shi Xingzheng (1914–1987) made abbot of Shaolin.
1987	Shaolin establishes a martial arts team, renamed the Shaolin Warrior Monks Troupe (SWMT) two years later.
1988	First International Shaolin Kung Fu Invitational Tournament held in Shaolin.
1995	Shaolin celebrates its one thousand five hundredth anniversary.
1999	SWMT travels to the UK and takes part in the Royal Variety Performance in Birmingham, with members of the troupe received by Queen Elizabeth II; Shi Yongxin ordained as the thirtieth-generation abbot of Shaolin.
2000	The ordination certificate system, abolished by the Qing court in 1774, resumed by the BAC.
2004	Jiang Zemin, Chinese President and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CCP, visits Shaolin.
2006	Shaolin hosts first Shaolin Chan Inquiry; Russian President Vladimir Putin visits Shaolin.
2007	Shaolin named an AAAAA-rated tourist attraction by the National Tourism Administration; Shaolin hosts a Three Ordination Platform Precept Transmission Ceremony with 730 Buddhist candidates awarded ordination certificates by the BAC.
2010	Shaolin named a World Cultural Heritage Site by UNESCO; The Shaolin Europe Association launched in Vienna, Austria.
2011	The Shaolin Association of North America established in Los Angeles.
2012	After more than a century of absence, a Water, Land and Air Repentance Dharma Assembly is held in Shaolin.
2013	The State Council declares Shaolin a Key Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the National Level.

Glossary

Names

Bai Juyi 白居易
Baimei 白眉
Baozhi 宝志
Batuo 跋陀
Buyantu Khan 普顏篤汗
Cai Dezhong 蔡德忠
Cha Leung-yung 查良鏞
Chen Jing 陈劲
Chen Liang 陈良
Chen Wentong 陈文统
Chen Yi 陈毅
Chen Yuanyun 陈元赟
Chen Zhen 陈真
Chen Zizheng 陈子正
Cheng Shao 程绍
Cheng Zongyou 程宗猷
Chetang 彻堂
Chiang Kai-shek 蒋介石
Choekyi Gyaltsen 确吉坚赞
Chongzhen 崇祯
Chu Liuxiang 楚留香
Chu Minyi 褚民谊
Chu Renhuo 褚人获
Confucius 孔子
Dai Shulu 戴叔伦
Dai Zhaoyu 戴昭宇
Dan 聃
Daochu 道楚
Daocun 道存
Daode 道德
Daofu 道甫

Daoguang 道广
Daoheng 道恒
Daojing 道景
Daoquan 道权
Daoran 道染
Daoxin 道忻
Daoyi 道一
Daoyuan 道源
Daozhan 道沾
Daozhang 道掌
Dazhuang 大壮
Dong Bangzheng 董邦政
Dong Biwu 董必武
Dong Haichuan 董海川
Doshin So 宗道臣
Drogön Chögyal Phagpa 八思巴
Duan Qirui 段祺瑞
Duan Zhishan 段之善
Emperor Gaozong of Tang 唐高宗
Emperor Huizong of Song 宋徽宗
Emperor Jing of the Northern Zhou 北周静帝
Emperor Muzong of Ming 明穆宗
Emperor Qinzong of Song 宋钦宗
Emperor Renzong of Yuan 元仁宗
Emperor Ruizong of Tang 唐睿宗
Emperor Shenzong of Ming 明神宗
Emperor Shizong of Ming 明世宗
Emperor Sizong of Ming 明思宗
Emperor Suzong of Tang 唐肃宗
Emperor Taizong of Tang 唐太宗
Emperor Taizu of Song 宋太祖
Emperor Wen of Sui 隋文帝
Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou 北周武帝
Emperor Wuzong of Ming 明武宗
Emperor Wuzong of Tang 唐武宗
Emperor Xianzong of Tang 唐宪宗
Emperor Xizong of Ming 明熹宗
Emperor Xuanzong of Jing 金宣宗
Emperor Xuanzong of Tang 唐玄宗
Emperor Yang of Sui 隋炀帝
Emperor Yingzong of Ming 明英宗
Emperor Zhangzong of Jin 金章宗
Emperor Zhongzong of Tang 唐中宗
Fahua 法华
Fan Zhongxiu 樊钟秀

Fang Dahong 方大洪
Fang Shiyu 方世玉
Fang Xuanling 房玄龄
Fang Zheng 方证
Feng Guozhang 冯国璋
Feng Yuxiang 冯玉祥
Feng 丰
Fu Mei 傅梅
Fulin 福临
Genghis Khan 成吉思汗
Geshe Sherab Gyatso 喜饶嘉措
Gong Nian 公鼐
Gong Xi 宫熙
Gu Long 古龙
Gu Ruzhang 顾汝章
Gu Yanwu 顾炎武
Guan Yu 关羽
Guangmei 广美
Guangwei 广为
Guangxu 光绪
Guangying 广应
Guo Moruo 郭沫若
Guo Yufeng 郭玉峰
Güyük Khan 贵由汗
Guzhou 孤舟
Han Shantong 韩山童
Han Yukun 憨玉昆
Hong Xiguan 洪熙官
Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全
Hongran 洪然
Hongzhen 宏真
Hu Dedi 胡德帝
Hu Huiqian 胡惠乾
Hu Jintao 胡锦涛
Hu Qiaomu 胡乔木
Huang Feihong 黄飞鸿
Huang Taiji 皇太极
Huang Tingjian 黄庭坚
Huang Zongxi 黄宗羲
Huangbo 黄蘗
Huangtai 黄泰
Huiguang 慧光
Huiyang 惠玚
Ji Jike 姬际可
Jia Jinchun 贾锦春

Jiagu Qingcheng 夹谷清臣
Jiang Shunan 蒋叔南
Jiang Weiqiao 蒋维乔
Jiang Zemin 江泽民
Jiao Qinchong 焦钦宠
Jiao Ruheng 焦如蘅
Jiashan 夹山
Jin Yong 金庸
Jueyuan 觉远
Kang Youwei 康有为
Kangxi 康熙
King Zhao of Zhou 周昭王
Kogen Shogen 古源邵元
Kong Qiu 孔丘
Kuang Qitian 邝祺添
Kublai Khan 忽必烈汗
Leiting 雷霆
Li Anyuan 李安远
Li Dan 李旦
Li Dequan 李德全
Li Er 李耳
Li Hongzhang 李鸿章
Li Jing 李靖
Li Jiyu 李际遇
Li Kefu 李克复
Li Laohu 李老虎
Li Lianjie 李连杰
Li Menghua 李梦华
Li Shikai 李式开
Li Shimin 李世民
Li Xian 李显
Li Xiannian 李先念
Li Xiaolong 李小龙
Li Yingcheng 李影尘
Li Yuan 李渊
Li Yunzhong 李允中
Li Zhun 李準
Li Zicheng 李自成
Li Zunxun 李遵勖
Liang Biye 梁必业
Liang Qichao 梁启超
Liang Yiquan 梁以荃
Liang Yusheng 梁羽生
Liao Chengzhi 廖承志
Liaoxin 了心

Lin Biao 林彪
Lin Shirong 林世荣
Lin Shuangwen 林双文
Ling Huchong 令狐冲
Lingxian 灵宪
Liu Baoshan 刘宝山
Liu Chen 刘宸
Liu Chong 刘宠
Liu E 刘鹗
Liu Futong 刘福通
Liu Jialiang 刘家良
Liu Jingwen 刘景文
Liu Ruxie 刘儒勰
Liu Shaoqi 刘少奇
Liu Yongfu 刘勇福
Liu Yunfeng 刘云峰
Lu Acai 陆亚彩
Lu Weichang 卢炜昌
Lu Zhishen 鲁智深
Luo Guangyu 罗光玉
Luo Guanzhong 罗贯中
Luyuan 鹿园
Ma Chaoxing 马超兴
Ma Liang 马良
Ma Yun 马云
Ma Zhenwu 马震武
Ma Zizhen 马子贞
Man 满
Mao Yuanyi 茅元仪
Mao Zedong 毛泽东
Miao Cuihua 苗翠花
Minggao 明嵩
Möngke Khan 蒙哥汗
Niu Gao 牛皋
Nurhachi 努尔哈赤
Ögedei Khan 窝阔台汗
Ordo 鄂尔多
Pan Lunen 潘纶恩
Pei Cui 裴漼
Prince of Hui Zhu Jianpei 徽王朱见沛
Prince of Qin 秦王
Prince of Shu Zhu Chun 蜀王朱椿
Prince of Ying Zhu Dong 郢王朱栋
Prince of Zhou Zhu Su 周王朱橚
Prince of Zhou Zhu Suqin 周王朱肃浸

Puhui 普惠
Pusheng 普胜
Qi Jiguang 戚继光
Qian Weichang 钱伟长
Qianlong 乾隆
Qiao Feng 乔峰
Qifu Monastery 弘福寺
Qinghui 庆惠
Qingniao 庆鸟
Qingshan 庆善
Qingshe 庆舍
Qingtong 庆同
Qingyu 庆于
Qingyuan 庆院
Qingzan 庆讚
Qiying 麒英
Ren Yingqi 任应歧
Ri Zhi Lu 日知录
Sande 三德
Sengchou 僧稠
Sesshū Tōyō 雪舟等杨
Shanhu 善护
Shen Quanqi 沈佺期
Shi Baoen 释报恩
Shi Benji 释本寂
Shi Changrun 释常润
Shi Changzhong 释常忠
Shi Chongxin 释崇信
Shi Conglun 释从伦
Shi Daoan 释道安
Shi Daodu 释道独
Shi Daokai 释道楷
Shi Daomin 释道忞
Shi Daopei 释道霈
Shi Daopi 释道丕
Shi Daosheng 释道盛
Shi Daowu 释道悟
Shi Daoxin 释道信
Shi Daoxuan 释道宣
Shi Daoyi 释道一
Shi Daoying 释道膺
Shi Dazhi 释大智
Shi Debao 释德宝
Shi Dechan 释德禅
Shi Degen 释德根

Shi Deqian 释德虔
Shi Deren 释德仁
Shi Fabao 释法宝
Shi Fahe 释法和
Shi Falang 释法朗
Shi Fanghui 释方会
Shi Fangnian 释方念
Shi Fanqi 释梵琦
Shi Faru 释法如
Shi Fatong 释法通
Shi Fawan 释法玩
Shi Fazang 释法藏
Shi Fazhong 释法忠
Shi Foyuan 释佛源
Shi Fuyu 释福遇
Shi Fuyu 释福裕
Shi Guangzhu 释广助
Shi Guanzhi 释观志
Shi Guichen 释桂琛
Shi Guolin 释果林
Shi Haideng 释海灯
Shi Haikuan 释海宽
Shi Hanshi 释函罡
Shi Henglin 释恒林
Shi Hongduan 释洪断
Shi Hongji 释洪纪
Shi Hongren 释弘忍
Shi Hongtai 释宏泰
Shi Hongxiang 释宏相
Shi Hongyi 释弘一
Shi Hongzhuan 释洪转
Shi Huairang 释怀海
Shi Huairang 释怀让
Shi Huihui 释慧晖
Shi Huijiao 释慧皎
Shi Huiji 释慧寂
Shi Huijin 释慧进
Shi Huijing 释慧经
Shi Huiju 释慧矩
Shi Huikai 释慧开
Shi Huike 释慧可
Shi Huiman 释慧满
Shi Huinan 释慧南
Shi Huineng 释慧能
Shi Huiqing 释慧庆

Shi Huiran 释慧然
Shi Huishan 释慧山
Shi Huixi 释慧喜
Shi Huixiu 释慧休
Shi Jiaoheng 释教亨
Shi Jingdeng 释净灯
Shi Jinghui 释净慧
Shi Jingliang 释净良
Shi Jingsi 释净斯
Shi Jingsu 释净肃
Shi Jingxuan 释警玄
Shi Jingying 释净莹
Shi Jinran 释今冉
Shi Jueti 释觉体
Shi Kecong 释可从
Shi Keqin 释克勤
Shi Kuangren 释匡仁
Shi Liangjie 释良价
Shi Liaogai 释了改
Shi Lingcou 释灵凑
Shi Lingyou 灵祐
Shi Lingyun 释灵运
Shi Miaoxing 释妙兴
Shi Miaoxing 释妙性
Shi Mingfang 释明方
Shi Mingong 释明恭
Shi Mingxue 释明雪
Shi Naian 施耐庵
Shi Pubian 释普遍
Shi Pucong 释普从
Shi Puji 释普寂
Shi Puji 释普济
Shi Pujun 释普均
Shi Puyuan 释普愿
Shi Qibin 释契斌
Shi Qingliao 释清了
Shi Rende 释仁德
Shi Sengca 释僧灿
Shi Shangji 释尚已
Shi Shangzhao 师尚诏
Shi Shenhui 释神会
Shi Shenxiu 释神秀
Shi Shibei 释师备
Shi Sudian 释素典
Shi Suxi 释素喜

Shi Taixu 释太虚
Shi Tansheng 释昙晟
Shi Tongguang 释同光
Shi Tongshun 释同顺
Shi Tongxiu 释通锈
Shi Weibai 释惟白
Shi Weikuan 释惟宽
Shi Weixian 释惟贤
Shi Weiyan 释惟俨
Shi Wencai 释文才
Shi Wentai 释文泰
Shi Wenyan 释文偃
Shi Wenyi 释文益
Shi Wenzai 释文载
Shi Wulei 释悟雷
Shi Wuming 释悟明
Shi Xianshanren 是香山人
Shi Xibian 释希辩
Shi Xingcong 释性聪
Shi Xingfang 释行方
Shi Xingjun 释行钧
Shi Xingsi 释行思
Shi Xingxiang 释行香
Shi Xingxiu 释行秀
Shi Xingzhang 释行章
Shi Xingzheng 释行正
Shi Xiqian 释希迁
Shi Xiujing 释休静
Shi Xiyun 释希运
Shi Xuanjian 释宣鉴
Shi Xuanzang 释玄奘
Shi Yanmai 释延麦
Shi Yanming 释延明
Shi Yanpei 释延沛
Shi Yanshou 释延寿
Shi Yi 施奕
Shi Yicun 释义存
Shi Yifu 释义福
Shi Yijing 释义净
Shi Yinjian 释印简
Shi Yiqing 释义青
Shi Yirang 释义让
Shi Yixuan 释义玄
Shi Yonggui 释永贵
Shi Yongxiang 释永祥

Shi Yongxin 释永信
Shi Yongzhai 释永斋
Shi Yousan 石友三
Shi Yuancheng 释圆澄
Shi Yuanguan 释缘观
Shi Yuangui 释元珪
Shi Yuanjing 释元鏡
Shi Yuanjiong 释愿炯
Shi Yuanlai 释元来
Shi Yuanwu 释圆悟
Shi Yuanxian 释元贤
Shi Yuanying 释圆瑛
Shi Yuanzhao 释圆照
Shi Zhengdao 释正道
Shi Zhengjue 释正觉
Shi Zhengshou 释正受
Shi Zhenxu 释贞绪
Shi Zhicheng 释智称
Shi Zhilong 释志隆
Shi Zhiman 释智满
Shi Zhitai 释智泰
Shi Zhixian 释智先
Shi Zhizang 释智藏
Shi Zhoucan 释周参
Shi Zhouyou 释周友
Shi Zichun 释子淳
Shi Ziding 释子定
Shi Zijue 释自觉
Shi Ziyan 释子严
Shi Zongdai 释宗岱
Shi Zonggao 释宗杲
Shi Zongmi 释宗密
Shi Zongqin 释宗擎
Shi Zongshu 释宗书
Shi Zongwu 释宗武
Shi Zongxiang 释宗想
Shi Zongyu 释宗珏
Shi Zongze 释宗赜
Shi Zuduan 释祖端
Shunzhi 顺治
Si Renfa 思任发
Song Zhiwen 宋之问
Songyun 宋云
Subhuti 须菩提
Suhui 素会

Sun Yat-sen 孙中山
Tan Renfeng 谭人凤
Tang Fansheng 唐范生
Tang Hao 唐豪
Tang Jingsong 唐竞松
Tang Long 唐龙
Tang Shunzhi 唐顺之
Tanzong 昙宗
Tian Han 田汉
Tianchi 天池
Tianfeng 天峰
Tianyuan 天员
Tianzhen 天真
Tongxi 同喜
Wan Biao 万表
Wan Tixi 万提喜
Wang Jie 汪介
Wang Renze 王仁泽
Wang Shichong 王世充
Wang Shijun 王世俊
Wang Youdan 王又旦
Wang Ziping 王子平
Wansong Laoren 万松老人
Wanyan Linqing 完颜麟庆
Wei Nianming 韦念铭
Wei Yingwu 韦应物
Wenxuan 文宣
Wu Jianquan 吴鉴泉
Wu Lengxi 吴冷西
Wu Peifu 吴佩孚
Wu Quanmei 吴全美
Wu Tunan 吴图南
Wu Zetian 武则天
Wu Zhiqing 吴志清
Wuji 无极
Xi Shujin 席书锦
Xiao Hua 肖华
Xiaoding 孝定
Xiaoming 孝明
Xiaowen 孝文
Xiaowu 孝武
Xie Bingxin 谢冰心
Xie Juezai 谢觉哉
Xie Tian 谢添
Xinru 心如

Xiong Yaohua 熊耀华
Xiqiao 西樵
Xu Guangping 许广平
Xu Ji 徐绩
Xu Kairu 许凯如
Xu Ke 徐珂
Xu Linlu 许麟庐
Xu Teli 徐特立
Xu Xiangqian 徐向前
Xu Zhedong 徐哲东
Xu Zhu 虚竹
Xue Dubi 薛笃弼
Yaertu 雅尔图
Yang Deshan 杨德山
Yang Guang 杨广
Yang Jian 杨坚
Yang Jucai 杨聚财
Yang Sichang 杨嗣昌
Yang Tong 杨侗
Yang Yinglong 杨应龙
Yangjia Living Buddha 杨嘉活佛
Yao Dagao 姚大羔
Ye Feng 叶封
Ye Jianying 叶剑英
Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材
Yifeng 一峰
Yin Dekui 殷德魁
Yongzheng 雍正
Yu Dayou 俞大猷
Yu Opera 豫剧
Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道
Yue Chongdai 岳崇岱
Yuekong 月空
Yunlong 云龙
Yuwen Huaji 宇文化及
Zang Kejia 臧克家
Zhang Che 张彻
Zhang Fengtai 张凤台
Zhang Juzheng 张居正
Zhang Sanfeng 张三丰
Zhang Shenghao 张圣浩
Zhang Siming 张思明
Zhang Xianzhong 张献忠
Zhang Yong 张永
Zhang Zhaosong 张肇松

Zhang Zhijiang 张之江
Zhang Zhuo 张鷟
Zhao Cangbi 赵苍壁
Zhao Kuangyin 赵匡胤
Zhao Lianhe 赵连和
Zhao Puchu 赵朴初
Zheng Ruoceng 郑若曾
Zhenyuan 真元
Zhicao 志操
Zhishan 至善
Zhishou 智守
Zhixing 智兴
Zhiyi 智顗
Zhongni 仲尼
Zhongyi Xiangren 忠义乡人
Zhou Enlai 周恩来
Zhou Yang 周扬
Zhouzai 周载
Zhu De 朱德
Zhu Guanpeng 朱冠朋
Zhu Guozhen 朱国桢
Zhu Wen 朱温
Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋
Zhu Yuzhai 朱愚斋
Zong Heng 宗衡
Zongguang 宗广
Zonghan 宗寒
Zongjian 宗简
Zongjing 宗镜
Zongju 宗居
Zongkai 宗恺
Zongyan 宗岩
Zongyao 宗尧

Terms

A Mi Tuo Jing 阿弥陀经
Anguo Monastery 安国寺
Anhui 安徽
An-Shi Rebellion 安史之乱
Ba Shi Ba Fo Chanhui Wen 八十八佛忏悔文
Baguazhang 八卦掌
Baifa Mo Nu Zhuan 白发魔女传
Baigu Zhuang 柏谷庄
Baihequan 白鹤拳

Baihu 百户
Bajiquan 八极拳
Bang 棒
Banruo Palm 般若掌
Baobao 饱宝
Bao Zhi Lin 宝芝林
Baofeng 宝丰
Baolin Monastery 宝林寺
Baoshen 报身
Baotao 豹韬
Baoying Monastery 宝应寺
Battle of Tumu Fortress 土木之变
Beijing 北京
Beiyang 北洋
Bi Guan 壁观
Bi Xue Jian 碧血剑
Bingfa Fawei 兵法发微
Bixue Danxin 碧血丹心
Biyan Lu 碧岩录
Black Sand Palm 黑沙掌
Bolin Chan Monastery 柏林禅寺
Boxiang Valley 博相谷
Cao Creek 曹溪
Caodong 曹洞
Caoshan 曹山
Chan Lu 禅露
Chan Qi Fa Hui 禅七法会
Chan Zhen Yi Shi 禅真逸史
Chan 禅
Chang'an 长安
Changquan 长拳
Chanshi 禅师
Chanyuan Qinggui 禅院清规
Chao Ye Qian Zai 朝野佥载
Chaohua Monastery 超化寺
Chaomen 巢门
Chaquan 查拳
Che Zhong Nu Zi 车中女子
Chengdu 成都
Chi 尺
Chongjue Monastery 崇觉寺
Chongzhen 崇祯
Chuansuo 穿梭
Chuipu Hall 锤谱堂
Ciyun Monastery 慈云寺

Congrong An Lu 从容庵录
Da Bei Zhou 大悲咒
Da Hongquan 大洪拳
Da Nao Dingjia Zhuang 大闹丁家庄
Da Qing Li Lu 大清例律
Da Shamo 大沙漠
Da Yecha 大夜叉
Dacheng 大成
Dadu 大都
Dalian 大连
Damo Jian 达摩剑
Damo Mizong Xue Li Piao 达摩密宗血里飘
Damo Wu Jing Quan 达摩五经拳
Dan Jian Jin Qiang 单剑进枪
Dang Kou Zhi 荡寇志
Dao Ting Tu Shuo 道听途说
Dashi 大师
Datang Xiyu Ji 大唐西域记
Datong 大同
Daye 大业
Da Zang Jing 大藏经
Dazhan 大战
Dazunquan 大祖拳
Deguang Jun 德广郡
Deng Lu 灯录
Dengfeng 登封
Dingzhou 定州
Diyuan Monastery 祇园寺
Dongguan 东莞
Donglin Monastery 东林寺
Donglin Monastery 洞林寺
Duanzhan 短战
Eling 谔岭
Er Ru Si Xing 二入四行
Er Zhi Chan 二指禅
Ernu Yingxiong Zhuan 儿女英雄传
Fan Qing Fu Ming 反清复明
Fang Shiyu Da Leitai 方世玉打擂台
Fang Shiyu Yu Hu Huiqian 方世玉与胡惠乾
Fang Shiyu Zheng Zhuan 方世玉正传
Fashen 法身
Fashi 法师
Faxiang 法相
Fayan 法眼
Fayin 法音

Fayuan Monastery 法源寺
Fayun Monastery 法云寺
Fengyang 凤阳
Foshan 佛山
Fu Qing Mie Yang 扶清灭洋
Fujian Shaolin Quan 福建少林拳
Fujian 福建
Gan Jiang Mo Ye 干将莫邪
Gansu 甘肃
Gaoseng Zhuan 高僧传
Gaoxi Temple 高溪庙
Gen Yu Sheng Ji 耕余剩技
General-in-Chief of Left and Right Wuhou 左右武侯大将军
Golden Sand Palm 金沙掌
Gong Zi Fu Hu Quan Lue Li 工字伏虎拳略历
Gong 巩
Gongan 公案
Gongliquan 工力拳
Gongyi 巩义
Grand Cien Monastery 大慈恩寺
Grand Monastery of Longevity 大万寿寺
Grand Monastery of Qingshou 大庆寿寺
Grand Xiangguo Monastery 大相国寺
Guadan 挂单
Guangdong 广东
Guanghui Temple 广惠庵
Guangji Monastery 广济寺
Guangxi 广西
Guangxiao Monastery 广孝寺
Guanyin Hall 观音殿
Guanyin Monastery 观音寺
Guanyin Yuan 观音院
Guide 归德
Guizhou 贵州
Gun 棍
Guoqing Monastery 国清寺
Guoshu Gailun 国术概论
Guoshu Lilun Gai Yao 国术理论概要
Guoshu Shi 国术史
Guoshu Yuanliu Kao 国术源流考
Guoshu 国术
Guozhou 虢州
Haikou 海口
Haizhuang Monastery 海幢寺
Han Buddhism 汉传佛教

Han 汉
Hangzhou 杭州
Hankou 汉口
Haoxia 豪侠
Haozhou 濠州
Hebei 河北
Henan 河南
Heyuan 河源
Hezhan 合战
Hong Kong 香港
Hong Xiguan Danao Emei Shan 洪熙官大闹峨眉山
Hong Xiguan San Jian Shaolin Si 洪熙官三建少林寺
Hongbing Qiyi 洪兵起义
Hongmen 洪门
Hongquan 洪拳
Hongxian Zhuan 红线传
Hongxue Yinyuan Tuji 鸿雪因缘图记
Houquan 猴拳
Hua County 花县
Huai River 淮河
Huang Chao Rebellion 黄巢之乱
Huang Feihong Bie Zhuan 黄飞鸿别传
Huang Feihong Shaolin Quan 黄飞鸿少林拳
Huang Feihong Wai Shi 黄飞鸿外史
Huang Feihong Zai Zhuan 黄飞鸿再传
Huang Feihong Zheng Zhuan Shangji: Bian Feng Mie Zhu 黄飞鸿正传上集: 鞭风灭烛
Huang Feihong Zheng Zhuan 黄飞鸿正传
Huang Feihong Zhuan 黄飞鸿传
Huangjue Monastery 黄觉寺
Huanglong 黄龙
Huangmei 黄梅
Huanzhou 辕州
Huayan 华严
Hubei 湖北
Huguang 湖广
Huichang Persecution of Buddhism 会昌灭佛
Huiji 会稽
Hulao 虎牢
Hunan 湖南
Huo Fen Shaolin Si 火焚少林寺
Huo Shao Honglian Si 火烧红莲寺
Huo Shao Shaolin Si 火烧少林寺
Huo Yuanjia 霍元甲
Huofo 活佛

Huotou Bang 火头棒
Hutao 虎韬
Iron Broom Palm 铁扫帚掌
Iron Pipa Palm 铁琵琶掌
Iron Sand Palm 铁沙掌
Ji Xiao Xin Shu 纪效新书
Jia Ren Qi 贾人妻
Jiajing 嘉靖
Jian Hu Ji 坚瓠集
Jian Jing 剑经
Jian Xing Cheng Fo 见性成佛
Jianghu Qi Xia Zhuan 江湖奇侠传
Jianghu 江湖
Jianghuai Yiren Lu 江淮异人录
Jiangnan Jinglue 江南经略
Jiangnan 江南
Jiangsu 江苏
Jianguo Yu Jun 建国豫军
Jiangxi 江西
Jianmo Bianyi Lu 拣魔辨异录
Jianyuan 监院
Jianzhong Jingguo Xudeng Lu 建中靖国续灯录
Jiaodi 角抵
Jiaoshi 教师
Jiaozuo 焦作
Jiatai Pudeng Lu 嘉泰普灯录
Jiaxing 嘉兴
Jiayu 嘉鱼
Jin Enzhong 金恩钟
Jin 金
Jinan 济南
Jindai Xiayi Yingxiong Zhuan 近代侠义英雄传
Jing Wu Men 精武门
Jingang Jing 金刚经
Jingang Zhong 金刚钟
Jingde Chuandeng Lu 景德传灯录
Jingming 景明
Jingtu 净土
Jingwu Tiyu Hui 精武体育会
Jingyuan 静院
Jingzhu Ji 景躅集
Jining 济宁
Jinjiang 晋江
Jinmen 金门
Jinshan 金山

Jinzhou 荆州
Jixian 蓟县
Juedai Shuang Jiao 绝代双骄
Julu 钜鹿
Junzhou 钧州
Jurchen 女真
Kaifeng 开封
Kaiyuan Monastery 开元寺
Kanhua Chan 看话禅
Karakorum 哈拉和林/哈剌和林
Kinnara 紧那罗
Kongshou Jin Jian 空手进剑
Kongtong 崆峒
Kongxiang Monastery 空相寺
Kumbum Monastery 塔尔寺
Kung fu 功夫
Kungming Shaolin Monastery 昆明少林寺
Kunlun Nu 昆仑奴
Kunlun 昆仑
Kunming 昆明
Lanzhou 兰州
Laocan Youji 老残游记
Laodong Huzhu Zu 劳动互助组
Laozi 老子
Later Liang 后梁
Later Zhou 后周
Leizhou 雷州
Lengqie Jing 楞伽经
Li Ji Zhan She 李寄斩蛇
Li Ru 理入
Liandeng Huiyao 联灯会要
Liang 梁
Liangzhou 凉州
Liao 辽
Liaoning 辽宁
Lichuan 黎川
Lingquan Monastery 灵泉寺
Lingshi 灵石
Linji Lu 临济录
Linji Monastery 临济寺
Linji 临济
Linru 临汝
Lion Palm 金豹掌
Liuli Bridge 六里桥
Liutao 六韬

Liuzu Tan Jing 六祖坛经
Long Hu Dou Jinghua 龙虎斗京华
Long Hu Dou 龙虎斗
Longhua Monastery 龙化寺
Longmen Grottoes 龙门石窟
Longtan Monastery 龙潭寺
Longtao 龙韬
Longzang 龙藏
Lu Mudan Quanzhuan 绿牡丹全传
Lu 律
Luchuan 麓川
Luohan Ditou 罗汉低头
Luohanquan 罗汉拳
Luoyang 洛阳
Lushi County 卢氏县
Luya Monastery 卢崖寺
Luying 绿营
Majiabang 马家浜
Mayi 马邑
Meihua Jing Quan 梅花精拳
Meng Long Guo Jiang 猛龙过江
Meng Shan Shi Shi Yi 蒙山施食仪
Meng 孟氏
Menglu Tang Qiangfa 梦绿堂枪法
Mentou Fang 门头房
Miao 苗
Ming 明
Minhang 闵行
Mogao Caves 莫高窟
Mogou 磨沟
Mount Congling 葱岭
Mount Dong 洞山
Mount Emei 峨眉山
Mount Fuhua 伏华山
Mount Funiu 伏牛山
Mount Jiuhua 九华山
Mount Linshan 廩山
Mount Longmen 龙门山
Mount Poe 破额山
Mount Putuo 普陀山
Mount Shaoshi 少室山
Mount Sikong 司空山
Mount Song 嵩山
Mount Tiantai 天台山
Mount Wangong 皖公山

Mount Wutai 五台山
Mount Xinfeng 新丰山
Mount Xionger 熊耳山
Mount Yuquan 玉泉山
Mozhao Chan 默照禅
Mu 亩
Nan Shaolin 南少林
Nanbei Shaolin 南北少林
Naner Dang Zi Qiang 男儿当自强
Nangong 南宫
Nanhai 南海
Nanhua Monastery 南华寺
Nanhuizui 南汇嘴
Nanning 南宁
Nanquan 南拳
Nanyang 南阳
Narayana 那罗廷
Neijia 内家
Nie Yin Niang 聂隐娘
Ningxia 宁夏
Niugui Sheshen 牛鬼蛇神
North Shaolin Monastery 北少林
Pai Gun 排棍
Panshan 盘山
Pigu 劈挂
Ping 平氏
Pingzong Xiaying Lu 萍踪侠影录
Pufu Monastery 普福寺
Putian 莆田
Puzhao Monastery 普照寺
Qi Gong 气功
Qi Jian Shi San Xia 七剑十三侠
Qi 齐
Qianhu 千户
Qiaotang Village 乔镗庄
Qielan 伽蓝
Qijian Xia Tianshan 七剑下天山
Qin 秦
Qing 清
Qingbei Leichao 清碑类钞
Qingcheng 青城
Qingfeng 清丰
Qingshi 情史
Qingzhou 青州
Qinna 擒拿

Qinshihuang 秦始皇
Qiongzhou 琼州
Quanguo Guoshu Kaoshi 全国国术考试
Quantao 犬韬
Quanzhou 泉州
Red Sand Palm 红沙掌
Roushu 柔术
San Man Pao 新晚报
San Xia Wu Yi 三侠五义
Sande Heshang San Tan Xichan Si 三德和尚三探西禅寺
Sanguo Yanyi 三国演义
Sanhua Nuxia 散花女侠
Sanjie 三阶
Sanlun 三论
Sanmenxia 三门峡
Sengbing Shoujie Ji 僧兵首捷记
Shaanxi 陕西
Shamanism 萨满教
Shami 沙弥
Shandong Xiangma Zhuan 山东响马传
Shandong 山东
Shandongdao 陕东道
Shang 商
Shanghai 上海
Shangqiu 商丘
Shangsheng Monastery 上生寺
Shanhu Monastery 善护寺
Shanhui Monastery 善会寺
Shantou 山头
Shanxi 山西
Shaoguan 韶关
Shaolin Duijian 少林对剑
Shaolin Gun Fa Chan Zong 少林棍法阐宗
Shaolin Gun Jie 少林棍解
Shaolin Haideng Fashi 少林海灯法师
Shaolin Heshang 少林和尚
Shaolin Hu He Zhen Tianxia 少林虎鹤震天下
Shaolin Hu Shan Zi Men Luohanquan 少林护山子门罗汉拳
Shaolin Jieyue Shi Yi 少林戒约释义
Shaolin Liuhequan 少林六合拳
Shaolin Men 少林门
Shaolin Monastery 少林寺
Shaolin Mu Ren Xiang 少林木人巷
Shaolin Pan Long Gun 少林盘龙棍
Shaolin Po Bi 少林破壁

Shaolin Qi Shi Er Yi Lian Fa 少林七十二艺练法
Shaolin Qi Xia Wu Tan Emei Shan 少林七侠五探峨眉山
Shaolin Quan Chai Fa 少林拳拆法
Shaolin Quan Jie 少林拳解
Shaolin Quan Tu Jie 少林拳图解
Shaolin Quanfa Tu Shuo 少林拳法图说
Shaolin Quanshu Jingyi 少林拳术精义
Shaolin Quanshu Mijue Kaozheng 少林拳术秘诀考证
Shaolin Quanshu Mijue 少林拳术秘诀
Shaolin Quanshu Tushuo 少林拳术图说
Shaolin Sanshi Liu Fang 少林三十六房
Shaolin Sha Jie 少林杀戒
Shaolin Shi Er Shi 少林十二式
Shaolin Shuang Dao 少林双刀
Shaolin Si Shi Ba Tong Ren 少林寺十八铜人
Shaolin Wen Chan 少林问禅
Shaolin Wu Da Qi Xia 少林五大奇侠
Shaolin Wu Quan 少林五拳
Shaolin Wu Zu 少林五祖
Shaolin Wudang Kao 少林武当考
Shaolin Xiao Yingxiong 少林小英雄
Shaolin Xiaozi 少林小子
Shaolin Yingxiong Xuezhan Ji 少林英雄血战记
Shaolin Yu Wu Dang 少林与武当
Shaolin Zhengzong Lian Bu Quan 少林正宗练步拳
Shaolin Zidi 少林子弟
Shaolin Zongfa 少林宗法
Shaolin Zongpai Yuanyuan Shixi Tujie 少林宗派渊源世系图解
Shaolin Zuqiu 少林足球
Shaolinquan 少林拳
Shaoxing 绍兴
Shaoxi River 少溪河
Shaozhou 韶州
She Diao Yingxiong Zhuan 射雕英雄传
Shen Diao Xia Lu 神雕侠侣
Sheng Chao Dingsheng Wan Nian Qing 圣朝鼎盛万年青
Sheng 升
Shenji Battalion 神机营
Shi Fang Chan Yuan 十方禅院
Shifo Monastery 石佛寺
Shizizhan 十字战
Shorinji Kempo 少林寺拳法
Shoubo 手搏
Shouchang Monastery 寿昌寺
Shouchang 寿昌

Shu Jian En Chou Lu 书剑恩仇录
Shu 蜀
Shui Lu Hui 水陆会
Shuibei 水北
Shuihu 水浒
Shuiyu Monastery 水峪寺
Shunde 顺德
Shuotang 说唐
Shushan Jianxia Zhuan 蜀山剑侠传
Shuzhou 舒州
Si Fen Lu Shu 四分律疏
Sichuan 四川
Song 宋
Songyue Youji 嵩岳游记
Sou Shen Ji 搜神记
Sui 隋
Ta Kung Pao 大公报
Tagou 塔沟
Taihu 太湖
Taijiquan 太极拳
Taiping Guangj 太平广记
Taiping Tianguo 太平天国
Taiqing Gong 太清宫
Taiyuan 太原
Taizuquan 太祖拳
Tan Jing 坛经
Tan Tui 谭腿
Tang 唐
Tantuo Monastery 潭拓寺
Tian Long Ba Bu 天龙八部
Tiandihui 天地会
Tianduo Bao 天铎报
Tianfeng 天风
Tianhua Monastery 天华寺
Tianjin 天津
Tianqing Monastery 天庆寺
Tiansheng Guangdeng Lu 天圣广灯录
Tiantai 天台
Tiantong 天童
Tianxia 天下
Tiebushan 铁布衫
Ting 梃
Tiyu Bao 体育报
Tongbiquan 通臂拳
Tongchuan 铜川

Tongfu Monastery 同福寺
Tuoba 拓跋
Tuozhan 脱战
Waijia 外家
Wan Fa Gui Zong Yi Shaolin 万法归宗一少林
Wangjia Village 王家庄
Wanli 万历
Wanxing 万行
Wei Ling Pu Bei 威灵普被
Wei 魏
Weimo Chan Monastery 维摩禅寺
Weiyang 沩仰
Wen 文
Wengjia Port 翁家港
Wengyuan 翁源
Wentao 文韬
Wuchang Uprising 武昌起义
Wuchang 武昌
Wudang Mountains 武当山
Wudang 武当
Wudeng Huiyuan 五灯会元
Wuhan 武汉
Wumen Guan 无门关
Wuru 五乳
Wushu 武术
Wutao 武韬
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Xi Sui Jing 洗髓经
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Xiangzhou 相州
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Xianyu 猃狁
Xiao Ao Jiang Hu 笑傲江湖
Xiao Yecha 小夜叉
Xiaoli Feidao 小李飞刀
Xie Xiao'e Zhuan 谢小娥传

Xiezhen Shaolin Gun Fa 写真少林棍法
Xilu 西鲁
Xin Jing 心经
Xin Shaolin Si 新少林寺
Xin Shaolin Wu Zu 新少林五祖
Xinchang Town 新场镇
Xinchou Treaty 辛丑条约
Xing Ru 行入
Xingjian Zhai Suibi 行健斋随笔
Xingong 性功
Xingyang 荥阳
Xingyiquan 形意拳
Xinhai Revolution 辛亥革命
Xinjiang 新疆
Xinmi 新密
Xinyiquan 心意拳
Xiuning 休宁
Xu Gaoseng Zhuan 续高僧传
Xu Ru Zang Jing 续入藏经
Xuanyuan Valley 轩辕关
Xuchang 许昌
Xueshan Fei Hu 雪山飞狐
Xunzhou 浔州
Yan Dan Zi 燕丹子
Yangqi 杨岐
Yangtze 扬子
Yangzhou 扬州
Yanjing 燕京
Yanshi 偃师
Yao 彝
Yaowang Monastery 药王寺
Ye 邺
Yexie 叶谢
Yi Hua Kai Wu Ye 一花开五叶
Yi Jin Jing 易筋经
Yi Tian Tu Long Ji 倚天屠龙记
Yi Zi Guan 一字关
Yifeng 宜丰
Yihe Sect 义和门
Yin Shou 阴手
Yin Yang 阴阳
Ying Qigong 硬气功
Yingshen 应身
Yingzhou 颍州
Yiwei Si 仪卫司

Yixing Sanmei 一行三昧
Yizhoudao 益州道
Yongle Bei Zang 永乐北藏
Yongning Monastery 永宁寺
Yongqing Monastery 永清寺
Yongtai Monastery 永泰寺
Yongzheng Da Po Shi Ba Tong Ren 雍正大破十八铜人
Yongzhou 雍州
Yongzhuang Xiaopin 涌幢小品
Yu Xuan Yulu 御选语录
Yuan 元
Yuanming Jushi Yulu 圆明居士语录
Yueshan Monastery 月山寺
Yuexi 岳西
Yufo Si 玉佛寺
Yuhua Palace 玉华宫
Yulu Zongjing Dagang 御录宗镜大纲
Yungang Grottoes 云冈石窟
Yunmen Monastery 云门寺
Yunmen San Ju 云门三句
Yunmen 云门
Yunnan 云南
Yunxiao 云霄
Yuzhong 榆中
Yuzuo Hall 御座房
Zengbu Quan Xie Jian Yan 增补拳械谏言
Zhanggong 漳供
Zhaoqing 肇庆
Zhecheng 柘城
Zhejiang 浙江
Zhengde 正德
Zhengjue 正觉
Zhengzhou 郑州
Zhengzong Xingjiao 正宗兴教
Zhenyan 真言
Zhi Zhi Ren Xin 直指人心
Zhigongtang 致公堂
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Zhou 周
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Zhuzi Baijia 诸子百家
Zishou Monastery 资寿寺
Zongbing 总兵
Zongjing Lu 宗镜录
Zuo Dudu 左都督

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